

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY.

SECTION I.—POSITION AND CONFIGURATION OF KĀŚMĪR VALLEY.

36. Nature itself when creating the great Valley of Kāśmīr and its enclosing wall of mountains, seems to have assured to this territory not only a distinct geographical character but also a historical existence of marked individuality. We see both these facts illustrated by the clearly defined and constant use of the name which the territory has borne from the earliest accessible period.

This name, KĀŚMĪRA in its original Sanskrit form, has been used as the sole designation of the country throughout its known history. It has uniformly been applied both by the inhabitants and by foreigners. We can trace back its continued use through an unbroken chain of documents for more than twenty-three centuries; while the name itself undoubtedly is far more ancient. Yet notwithstanding this long history the current form of the name down to the present day has changed but slightly in the country itself and scarcely at all outside it.

The Sanskrit *Kāśmīra* still lives as *Kāśmīr* (in Persian spelling *Kāsh̄mīr*) all through India and wherever to the West the fame of the Valley has spread. In the language of the inhabitants themselves the name is now pronounced as *Kāśīr*.¹ This form is the direct phonetic derivative of *Kāśmīr*, with regular loss of the final vowel and assimila-

¹ The adjective *Kāśīr* 'Kāśmīrian' corresponds to Skr. *Kāśmīra*. The *u* of the last syllable is probably due to the *v* of an intermediate form **Kāśvīra*; see below.

tion of *m* to the preceding sibilant. With reference to a phonetic rule, prevalent through all Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, which favours the change of medial Skr. *m* into *v*,¹ we are led to assume an intermediate Prakrit form **Kaśvīr*[a]. In support of this we may point to the striking analogy of the Kaśmīr local name *Sāngas* which, as shown in my note on *Rājat.* i. 100, goes back through an older recorded form *Svāngas* to **S'māṅgāsā*, the *S'amāṅgāsā* of the Chronicle. It has already been shown above that we have to recognize in this **Kaśvīra* the original Prakrit form which Ptolemy's *Kάσπειρα*, *Κασπειρία* (pronounced Kaspīra, Kaspīria) are intended to transcribe.²

Linguistic science can furnish no clue to the origin of the name *Kaśmīra*, nor even analyze its formation.³

Etymologies of name.

This fact, however, has not saved the name from being subjected to various etymological guesses which for curiosity's sake may receive here a passing notice. It must be held to the credit of Kaśmīrian Sanskrit authors that their extant writings are wholly innocent of this display of etymological fancy.

No less illustrious a person than the Emperor Bābar opens the list. His suggestion was that the name may be derived from the hill-tribe 'Kās' living in the neighbourhood of Kaśmīr.⁴ We easily recognize here the reference to the *Khaśas* of the lower hills. Their name, however, in its true form has, of course, no connection with Kaśmīr. Another etymology, first traceable in the Ḥaidar Malik's Chronicle and hence reproduced by other Muhammadan writers,⁵ derives the first part of the name from '*Kashap*,' i.e., Kaśyapa, and the second either from

¹ Compare DR. GRIERSON'S remarks, *Z. D. M. G.*, i. p. 16.

² See above, § 5.

³ If the *Uṇādisūtra*, 472, *Kaśer muṭ ca* is to be applied to the word *Kaśmīra*, the latter would have to be dissolved into *kaś-m-īra* according to the traditional grammatical system.

⁴ See *Memoirs of Baber*, transl. by Leyden and Erskine, p. 313. A Persian MS. : of the text adds that *mīr* signifies mountain. ERSKINE, *Introduction*, p. xxvii., improves upon this etymology by extending it to Kashgar, the Casia regio and Casii Montes of Ptolemy. RITTER, *Erdkunde*, ii. p. 1127, from whom I take this reference, not unjustly queries why the learned editor should have stopped short of the *Caspium mare* and other equally manifest affinities.

Babar's conjecture figures still seriously in a note of the latest translation of the *Aīn-i Akbarī*, ii. p. 381.

Regarding the name and habitation of the *Khaśas*, compare *Rājat.* i. 317 note.

⁵ It was first introduced to the European reader by TIEFFENTHALER'S extract from Ḥaidar Malik's Chronicle compare *Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*, ed. Bernouilli (1786), i. p. 79 (also p. 89 as to source). Compare also WILSON, *Essay*, p. 94, for a similar note from the *Wāqī'āt-i Kaśmīr* of Muḥammad 'Azīm; here *کشف سر* is a clerical error for *کشف میر*.

Kś. *mar*, i.e., Skr. *maṭha* 'habitation,' or a word *mīr*, supposed to mean 'mountain.'¹

It was, perhaps, a belief that this whimsical etymology represented some local tradition, which induced even so great a scholar as Burnouf to risk the conjectural explanation of Kāsmīra as **Kaśyapamīra*, i.e., 'the sea of Kaśyapa.'² There is neither linguistic nor any other evidence to support this conjecture. It would hence scarcely have been necessary to refer to it had it not on the authority of a great name found its way also into numerous works of a more general character.³

37. Just as the name Kāsmīr has practically remained unchanged through the course of so many centuries, so also has the territorial extent of the country which it designated. This has always been confined to the great valley drained by the headwaters of the Vitastā and to the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it.

Extent and position of Kāsmīr.

The natural limits of the territory here indicated are so sharply marked that we have no difficulty in tracing them through all our historical records, whether indigenous or foreign. Hiuen Tsiang, Ou-k'ong and Albērūnī's accounts, as we have seen, show them clearly enough. Kalhaṇa's and his successors' Chronicles prove still more in detail that the Kāsmīr of Kāsmīrian tradition never extended materially beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges which encircle and protect the Valley.

A detailed description of the geographical position of Kāsmīr does not come within the scope of this paper. Nor is it needed since there is an abundant modern literature dealing with the various aspects of the geography of the country. For an accurate and comprehensive account I may refer to the corresponding portion of MR. DREW'S work and to the graphic chapter which MR. LAWRENCE devotes to the description of the Valley.⁴ It will, however, be useful to allude here briefly to some of the characteristic features in the configuration of the country which have an important bearing on its ancient topography.

Kāsmīr owes its historical unity and isolation to the same facts which give to its geographical position a distinct and in some respects

¹ The Kś. word *mar* < Skr. *maṭha*, is in common use in the country as the designation of Sarais, shelter-huts on passes, etc. *Mīr* might have been connected by Haidar Malik's Paṇḍit informants with the name of Mount *Meru* or with *mīra*, meaning according to a Kōśa *parvataikadeśa*, see *B. R.*, s. v.

² Compare his note in HUMBOLDT, *L'Asie centrale*, i. p. 92.

³ See, e.g., LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, i. p. 54 note; MCCRINDLE, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 108; V. DE ST. MARTIN, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript., Sav. E'trang.*, v., ii. p. 83; KIEPERT, *Alte Geographie*, 1878, p. 36.

⁴ See F. DREW, *The Jummoo and Kashmīr Territories*, 1875, Chapters viii.-x.; W. LAWRENCE, *The Valley of Kashmir*, 1895, pp. 12-39.

almost unique character. We have here a fertile plain embedded among high mountain ranges, a single valley large enough to form a kingdom for itself and capable of supporting a highly developed civilization. Its height above the sea, nowhere less than 5000 feet, and its peculiar position assure to it a climate equally free from the heat of India and the rigours of cold, peculiar to the higher mountain regions in the north and east.

The form of the country has been justly likened to a great irregular oval, consisting of a similarly shaped level vale in the centre and a ring of mountains around it. The low and more or less flat part of the country measures about 84 miles in length, from south-east to north-west, while its width varies from 20 to 25 miles. The area comprised in this part has been estimated at 1800 or 1900 square miles.¹ Around this great plain rise mountain ranges which enclose it in an almost unbroken ring. Their summit lines are everywhere but for a short distance at the southernmost point of the oval, more than 10,000 feet above the sea. For the greatest part they rise above 13,000 feet, while the peaks crowning them tower up to altitudes close on 18,000 feet. Reckoned from the summit lines of these ranges, the length of the irregular oval enclosed by them is about 116 miles, with a varying width from 40 to 75 miles. The whole area within these mountain boundaries may be estimated at about 3,900 square miles.

The slopes of the mountains descending towards the central plain are drained by numerous rivers and streams all of which join the Vitastā within the Kaśmīr plain. The side-valleys in which these tributaries flow, add much ground to the cultivated area of the country several of them being of considerable length and width. But even the higher zones of the mountain-slopes where cultivation ceases, add their share to the economical wealth of the country. They are clothed with a belt of magnificent forests, and above this extend rich alpine pastures, close up to the line of perpetual snow.

In the great mountain-chain which encircles the country, there is but one narrow gap left, near to the north-west end of the Valley. There the Vitastā after uniting the whole drainage of Kaśmīr flows out by the gorge of Bārāmūla (Varāhamūla) on its course towards the sea. For a distance of nearly 200 miles further this course lies through a very contracted valley which forms a sort of natural gate to Kaśmīr. It is here that we find the old political frontier of Kaśmīr extending beyond the mountain-barriers already described. For about 50 miles below the Varāhamūla gorge the narrow valley of the Vitastā was held in Hindu times as an outlying frontier tract of Kaśmīr.²

¹ Compare DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 162, for this and subsequent statements.

² See below § 53.

38. The general configuration of the country here indicated in its broadest outlines may be held to account
Legend of Satīsaras. for the ancient legend which represents Kāsmīr to have been originally a lake. This legend is mentioned by Kalhaṇa in the Introduction of his Chronicle and is related at great length in the *Nilamata*.¹

According to this earliest traditional account the lake called *Satīsaras*, 'the lake of Satī (Durgā),' occupied the place of Kāsmīr from the beginning of the Kalpa. In the period of the seventh Manu the demon Jalodbhava ('water-born') who resided in this lake, caused great distress to all neighbouring countries by his devastations. The Muni Kaśyapa, the father of all Nāgas, while engaged in a pilgrimage to the Tīrthas in the north of India, heard of the cause of this distress from his son Nīla, the king of the Kāsmīr Nāgas. The sage thereupon promised to punish the evil-doer and proceeded to the seat of Brahman to implore his and the other gods' help for the purpose. His prayer was granted. The whole host of gods by Brahman's command started for Satisaras and took up their position on the lofty peaks of the *Naubandhana Tīrtha* above the lake Kramasaras (Kōṇsār Nāg). The demon who was invincible in his own element, refused to come forth from the lake. Viṣṇu thereupon called upon his brother Balabhadra to drain the lake. This he effected by piercing the mountains with his weapon, the ploughshare. When the lake had become dry, Jalodbhava was attacked by Viṣṇu and after a fierce combat slain with the god's war-disc.

Kaśyapa then settled the land of Kāsmīr which had thus been produced. The gods took up their abodes in it as well as the Nāgas, while the various goddesses adorned the land in the shape of rivers. At first men dwelt in it for six months only in the year. This was owing to a curse of Kaśyapa, who angered by the Nāgas had condemned them to dwell for the other six months together with the Piśācas. Accordingly men left Kāsmīr for the six months of winter and returned annually in Caitra when the Piśācas withdrew. Ultimately after four Yugas had passed, the Brahman Candradeva through the Nilanāga's favour acquired a number of rites which freed the country from the Piśācas and excessive cold. Henceforth Kāsmīr became inhabitable throughout the year.

The legend of the desiccation of the lake is alluded to also by Hiuen Tsiang, though in another, Buddhistic form.² Its main features as related in the *Nilamata*, live to this day in popular tradition. They

¹ See *Rājat.* i. 25-27; *Nilamata*, vv. 26-237. A detailed extract of the *Nilamata*'s story has been given by Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 39.

² See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. p. 149.

are also reproduced in all Muhammadan abstracts of the Chronicle.¹ From Haidar Malik's *Tārīkh* the legend became known to Dr. Bernier who prefaces with it his description of the 'Paradis terrestre des Indes.'² It has since found its way into almost every European account of Kāsmīr.

It is probable that this legend had much to do with drawing from the first the attention of European travellers to certain physical facts apparently supporting the belief that Kāsmīr was in comparatively

Lacustrine features of Valley. late geological times wholly or in great part occupied by a vast lake. But few seem to have recognized so clearly as the late MR. DREW, the true relation between the legend and the above facts. I cannot put his view which from a critical point of view appears to be self-evident, more clearly than by quoting his words: "The traditions of the natives—traditions that can be historically traced as having existed for ages—tend in the same direction, [*viz.*, of the Vale having been occupied by a lake,] and these have usually been considered to corroborate the conclusions drawn from the observed phenomena. Agreeing, as I do, with the conclusion, I cannot count the traditions as perceptibly strengthening it; I have little doubt that they themselves originated in the same physical evidence that later travellers have examined."³

The geological observations upon which modern scientific enquirers like Mr. Drew and Colonel Godwin Austin, have based their belief as to the former existence of a great lake, are mainly concerned with the undoubted 'lacustrine deposits' found in the so-called Uḍars or Karēwa plateaus to be noticed below. But it seems to me very doubtful whether we can reasonably credit the early Kāsmīrians with a correct scientific interpretation of such geological records. It appears far more probable that the legend was suggested by an observation of the general form of the valley and by a kind of natural inference from the historical changes in the country's hydrography.

We shall see below that great drainage operations took place at various periods of the country's history which extended the cultivated ground and reduced the area covered by lakes and marshes. To any one, however ignorant of geology, but acquainted with the latter fact, the picture of a vast lake originally covering the whole Valley might naturally suggest itself. It would be enough for him to stand on a hill-side somewhere near the Volur, to look down on the great lake and the adjoining marshes, and to glance then beyond towards that narrow gorge

¹ Compare, *e.g.*, *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 380; WILSON, *Essay*, p. 93.

² See BERNIER, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, ed. Constable, p. 393.

³ See *Jummoo*, p. 207.

of Bārāmūla where the mountains scarcely seem to leave an opening. It is necessary to bear in mind here the singular flights of Hindu imagination as displayed in the Purāṇas, Māhātmyas and similar texts. Those acquainted with them, will, I think, be ready to allow that the fact of that remarkable gorge being the single exit for the drainage of the country, might alone have sufficed as a starting-point for the legend.

In respect of the geological theory above referred to it may yet be mentioned that in the opinion of a recent authority "even the presence of true lacustrine deposits does not prove that the whole of the Kāsmīr lake basin was ever occupied by a lake."¹ At the present day true lacustrine deposits are still being formed in the hollows of the rock basin represented by the lakes of the north-west portion of the Valley. It is held probable "that the conditions have been much the same as at present, throughout the geological history of the Kāsmīr Valley," only a minor area of the latter having at various periods been occupied by lakes.

Whatever view may ultimately recommend itself to geologists, it is certain that the lacustrine deposits of Kāsmīr, though of no remote date, speaking by a geological standard, are far older than any monuments of man that have yet been discovered.² Mr. Drew was undoubtedly right in denying the existence of lacustrine deposits round any known ancient buildings or other works of man in the Valley.

39. None of the natural features of Kāsmīr geography have had a more direct bearing on the history of the country than the great mountain-barriers that surround it. They may hence rightly claim our first consideration.

The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has at all times been duly recognized both by the inhabitants and foreign observers. Since an early time Kāsmīrians have been wont to pride themselves on their country's immunity from foreign invasion, a feeling justified only by the strength of these natural defences. We find it alluded to by Kalhaṇa who speaks of Kāsmīr as unconquerable by the force of soldiers and of the protection afforded by its mountain walls.³ The feeling is very clearly reflected in all foreign records. We have already seen what special notice is taken by Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-k'ong of the mountains enclosing the kingdom and of the difficulty of the passes leading through them.⁴ The statements of the early Arab

¹ See OLDHAM'S *Manual of Indian Geology* (1893), quoted by Mr. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 50.

² See DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 207 sq.

³ See *Rājat*. i. 31, 39.

⁴ Compare above, §§ 9, 11.

geographers brief as they are, lay due stress on the inaccessible character of the mountains. Albērūnī does the same and shows us besides the anxious care taken in old days to maintain this natural strength of the country by keeping strict watch over the passes.¹

Even when Kaśmīr had suffered a partial conquest from the north and had become Muhammadanized, the belief in the invincibility of its bulwarks continued as strong as before. Thus Sharīfu-d-dīn, the historian of Tīmūr, writing apparently from materials collected during the great conqueror's passage through the Panjāb Kōhistān (circ. A.D. 1397), says of Kaśmīr: "This country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants, without the trouble of fortifying themselves, are safe from the attacks of enemies." The subsequent account of the routes into Kaśmīr and other exact details suggest that the author of the *Zafarnāma* had access to genuine Kāśmīrian information.²

40. It is this defensive character of the mountain ranges to which we owe most of our detailed information regarding their ancient topography. We have already in connection with the accounts of Albērūnī and the Chinese pilgrims had occasion to note the system of frontier watch-stations by which a careful guard was kept on the passes leading through the mountains. These fortified posts and the passes they guarded, play an important part in the narrative of Kalhaṇa and his successors. As most of the Chronicle's references to Kaśmīr orography are directly connected with these watch-stations it will be useful to premise here a few general remarks regarding their character and purpose.³

The small forts which since ancient times closed all regularly used passes leading into the Valley, are designated in the Chronicles by the word *dvāra* 'gate' or by the more specific terms *draṅga* or *dhakka*. Numerous passages show that they served at the same time the purposes of defence, customs and police administration. They were garrisoned by troops under special commanders, designated as *draṅgeśa* or *draṅgādhīpa*. The control over all these frontier stations and the command of the 'Marches' generally was vested in Hindu times in one high state officer, known by the title of *dvārapati*, 'lord of the Gate,' or equivalent terms.⁴

¹ See above, §§ 12, 14.

² See the extract from Sharīfu-d-dīn's *Zafarnāma* in *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, transl. by N. ELIAS and E. D. ROSS, p. 432; compare also RITTER, *Asien*, ii. pp. 1122, sq.

³ For detailed references regarding these stations see my notes, *J. A. S. B.*, 1895, pp. 382 sqq.; *Rājat*. i. 122; iii. 227 (D).

⁴ Compare *Rājat*, note v. 214.

The organization of the system was somewhat changed in Muhammadan times when the guarding of the several routes through the mountains was entrusted to feudal chiefs known as Maliks (Skr. *mārgesā*).¹ These held hereditary charge of specific passes and enjoyed certain privileges in return for this duty. In other respects the system underwent scarcely any change. The fortified posts with their small garrisons survived on all important routes almost to our own days being known as *rāhdārī* in the official Persian.²

It may be noted that apart from their character as military defences against foreign inroads the Draṅgas were also in another respect true 'gates' to the country. Nobody was allowed to pass outside them coming from the Valley without a special permit or pass. The system thus provided an important check on unauthorized emigration which was withdrawn only after the last Kāsmīr famine (1878).³

In order to appreciate fully the importance of these frontier watch-stations it should be remembered that the mountain regions immediately outside Kāsmīr were almost in every direction held by turbulent hill-tribes. To the hardy Dards (*Darad*) in the north and the restless Khakhas (*Khaśā*) in the south and west the rich Kāsmīr with its weak population has always appeared as a tempting prey. The last inroad of plundering Khakhas occurred not more than half a century ago and will not soon be forgotten.⁴ At the same time it is certain that the valour of these hardy mountain clans on the confines of Kāsmīr has at all times contributed greatly to the natural strength of the mountain defences. Without this protective belt the latter themselves would scarcely have remained so long proof against foreign invasion.

¹ A detailed and interesting account of the *Maliks* and the routes held by them is given by Baron HÜGEL, *Kaschmir*, ii., pp. 167 *sqq.*; i., p. 347.

² See *J. A. S. B.*, 1895, p. 385; also below, § 49, 52.

³ For an early reference to this system of passports at the *Dvāras*, see *Jonar.* 654. For a description of the cruel exactions often connected with 'Rāhdārī,' compare LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 215. I have never been able to visit the sites of the old watch-stations at the several passes without thinking of the scenes of human suffering they must have witnessed for centuries.

⁴ Compare *Rājat.* i. 317 note.

SECTION II.—THE PĪR PANTSĀL RANGE.

41. In order to understand correctly the data relating to the ancient topography of the mountains around Kaśmīr orography. Kaśmīr, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with their actual configuration and character. In the following account it will be possible only to indicate the most prominent features of this mountain system, and those directly connected with the historical data under discussion. For detailed information on Kaśmīr orography a reference to the lucid and instructive account in MR. DREW'S work may be specially recommended.¹

The mountain ring enclosing Kaśmīr is divided into three main ranges. One of these, usually designated as the *Pīr Pantsāl* Range, forms the boundary of the Kaśmīr Valley to the south and southwest. It may be considered to begin from the southernmost part of the Valley where the Bān^ahāl Pass, 9200 feet above the sea, marks the lowest depression in the chain of mountains. After running for about 35 miles from east to west the range turns to the north-northwest. In this direction it continues for about fifty miles more, and after attaining its greatest elevation in the Tatakūṭī Peak (15,524 feet above the sea), gradually descends towards the Valley of the Vitastā. All important old routes towards the Panjāb cross this great mountain barrier, and this circumstance enables us to trace some interesting information regarding its ancient topography.

The Bān^ahāl Pass at the eastern extremity of the range must owing to its small elevation have always been a convenient route of communication towards the Eastern portion of Pīr Pantsāl Range. Upper Cināb Valley and the eastern of the Panjāb hill-states. It takes its modern name from a village at the south foot of the pass which itself is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle by the name of BĀṆAŚĀLĀ.² The castle of Bāṇaśālā was in Kalhaṇa's own time the scene of a memorable siege (A.D. 1130) in which the pretender Bhikṣācara was captured and killed. Coming from the Cināb Valley he had entered Viśalāṭā,³ the hill district immediately south of the Bān^ahāl Pass with the view to an invasion of Kaśmīr. As his move-

¹ See *Jummoo*, pp. 192-206.

² See *Rājat.* viii. 1665 *sqq.* and note. Bān^ahāl is the direct phonetic derivative of Skr. *Bāṇaśālā*, medial Skr. ś being regularly changed into h in Kaśmīrī.

³ See *Rājat.* viii. 177. The name of Viśalāṭā is probably preserved in that of the river *Bichlārī*. Viśalāṭā more than once served as a safe retreat for Kaśmīrian refugees; comp. *Rājat.* viii. 177, 697, 1074.

ment fell in the commencement of the winter, he could not have selected a more convenient route. The Bān^ahāl Pass is the only one across the Pir Pantsāl Range on which communication is never entirely stopped by snowfall. Kalhaṇa's narrative shows that the political and ethnographic frontier of Kaśmīr ran here as elsewhere on the watershed of the range. For the castle of Bāṇaśālā, though so near as to be visible already from the top of the pass (*saṁkaṭa*), was already held by a Khaśa chief.¹

Proceeding westwards from Bān^ahāl we come to a group of three snowy peaks reaching above 15,000 feet. With their bold pyramidal summits they form conspicuous objects in the panorama of the range as seen from the Valley.² Kaśmīr tradition locates on them the seats from which Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahman, according to the legend already related, fought Jalodbhava and desiccated the Satīsaras. The westernmost and highest of these peaks (15,523 feet) forms the famous NAUBANDHANA Tirtha. According to the legend related in the Nilamata and other texts and connected with the Indian deluge story, Viṣṇu in his fish Avatāra had bound to this peak the ship (*nau*) into which Durgā had converted herself to save the seeds of the beings from destruction.³ At the foot of this peak and to the northwest of it, lies a mountain lake over two miles long known now as *Kōns^ar Nāg*, the KRAMASARAS or *Kramasāra* of the Nilamata and Māhātmyas.⁴ It is supposed to mark a footstep (*krama*) of Viṣṇu, and is the proper object of the Naubandhana pilgrimage.

About 8 miles straight to the west of this lake, the range is crossed by a pass, over 14,000 feet high, known now by the name of *Sidau* or *Būdīl*. It lies on a route which in an almost straight line connects Śrīnagar with Akhnūr and Siālkōt in the Panjāb plain. Running up and down high ridges it is adapted only for foot traffic, but owing to its shortness was formerly a favourite route with Kaśmīrīs.⁵ The name *Sidau* is given to the pass from the first village reached by it on the

¹ *Rājat.* viii. 1674, 1683. *Samkaṭa* is the regular term for 'pass.'

² Marked on maps as 'Brama Sakal,' perhaps a corruption for *Brahmaśikhara* 'Brahman's peak.'

³ See *Nilamata*, 33 sqq.; *Haracar.* iv. 27; *Śrīv.* i. 474 sqq.; *Śarvāvatāra* iii. 4, 12; v. 43, etc.

⁴ See *Śrīv.* i. 482 sqq. where a visit of Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn to this lake is related at length; *Nilamata*, 121, 1272; *Naubandhanamāhātmya*, passim; *Śarvāvatāra* iii. 10; v. 174, etc.

⁵ According to DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 524, the distance from Jammu to Śrīnagar by the Sidau route is reckoned at 129 miles while *viā* the Bān^ahāl it is 177 miles.

The name Būdīl is given to the pass from the hill-district adjoining it on the south; compare my note *Rājat.* vi. 318.

Kaśmīr side. It is by this name, in its original form *SIDDHAPATHA*, that the pass is mentioned in Kalhana's Chronicle as the route chosen for a pretender's irruption in Sussala's reign.¹

A snowy peak close to the west of the pass of Siddhapatha marks the point where the main range changes its direction towards north-northwest. From the same point there branches off in a westerly direction the lower Ratan Pīr Range to which we shall have to refer below. Beyond this lie the passes of Rūprī and Darhāl, both above 13,000 feet in height. They are not distinctly named in the Chronicles. But as they give most direct access to Rajaurī, the ancient *Rājapurī*, and are crossed without much trouble during the summer months they are likely to have been used from an early time. Near the Darhāl Pass lies the *Nandan Sar*, one of the numerous tarns which along this portion of the chain mark the rock-ground beds of old glaciers. It is probably the *Nandana Nāga* of the Nilamata.

42. About five miles due north of the Nandan Sar we reach the lowest dip in the central part of the whole range. It is marked by the pass known as *Pīr Pantsāl Route*. The route which crosses it has from early days to the present time been the most frequented line of communication from Kaśmīr to the central part of the Panjāb. The frequent references which the Chronicles make to this route, permit us to follow it with accuracy from the point where it enters the mountains. This is in the valley of the Rembyār² River (*Raṁṇyātavī*), a little below the village of *Hūr³pōr*.

This place, the ancient *S'URAPURA*, is often referred to as the entrance station for those reaching Kaśmīr from Rājapurī and the neighbouring places, or *vice versā* as the point of departure for those travelling in the opposite direction.² *S'urapura* was founded by *Sūra*, the minister of Avantivarman, in the 9th century evidently with the intention of establishing a convenient emporium on this important trade-route.³ He transferred to this locality the watch-station (*draṅga*) of the pass. Its site, as I have shown in my *Notes on the Ancient Topography of the Pīr Pantsāl Route*,⁴ can still be traced at the place known as *Ilāhī Darwāza* ('the gate of God'), a short distance above the village. We find the

¹ See *Rājat.* viii. 557. In the Chronicles of Śrīvara and his successors the tract about Sidau is repeatedly referred to as *Siddhādeśa*, an evident adaptation of the Kś. form of the name.

² See *Rājat.* iii. 227, Note D, § 1.

³ Compare *Rājat.* v. 39 note.

⁴ See *J. A. S. B.*, 1895, p. 385. This paper should be compared for all details regarding the other sites along this route.

commanders of this frontier-station more than once engaged in military operations against intending invaders from the other side of the mountains.

Ascending the valley of the Rembyār² or Ramanyāṭavī for about 7 miles we reach the point where the streams coming from the Pīr Pantsāl and Rūpri Passes unite. In the angle formed by them rises a steep rocky hillock which bears on its top a small ruined fort known as *Kāmelankōṭh*. These ruins probably go back only to the time of 'Aṭā Muḥammad Khān,' the Afghān Governor of Kaśmīr, who, about 1812, fortified the Pīr Pantsāl Route against the Sikh invasion then threatening. But I have proved in the above-quoted paper that they mark the original position of the ancient watch-station on this route before its transfer to Sūrapura.¹ Kalhaṇa, iii. 227, calls this site *Kramavarta*. This name is rendered by a glossator of the 17th century as *Kāmelanakōṭṭa* and still survives in the present *Kāmelankōṭh* (**Kramavartānām kōṭṭa*).

43. The old 'Imperial Road' constructed in early Mughal times then ascends the narrow valley, keeping on its left side high above the Pīr Pantsāl stream.

At a distance of about four miles above Kāmelankōṭh and close to the Mughal Sarai of 'Alīābād, a high mountain-ridge slopes down from the south and falls off towards the valley in a wall of precipitous cliffs. The ridge is known as *Hastivañj*. This name and the surviving local tradition makes it quite certain that we have here the spot at which a curious legend told by Kalhaṇa was localized from early times.²

The Chronicle, i. 302 *sqq.* relates of King *Mihirakula* whose identity with the White Hun ruler of that name (circ. 515-550 A.D.) is not doubtful, that when on his return from a tour of conquest through India he reached the 'Gate of Kaśmīr,' he heard the death-cry of an elephant which had fallen over the precipice. The gruesome sound so delighted the cruel king that he had a hundred more elephants rolled down at the same spot. The old glossator on the passage informs us that "since that occurrence the route by which Mihirakula returned, is called *Hastivañja*." The Persian Chroniclers too in reproducing the anecdote give *Hastivanj* as the name of the locality.

The local tradition of the neighbouring hill tracts still knows the story of a king's elephants having fallen down here into the gorge below. It also maintains that the old route to the Pass, in the times before the construction of the 'Imperial Road', crossed the *Hastivañj* ridge and followed throughout the right bank of the Pīr Pantsāl

¹ J. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 384 *sq.*

² Compare J. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 378 *sqq.*

stream. This is fully borne out by a statement of Abū-l-Fazl.¹ Describing the several routes available on the march from Bhimbhar to Kāsmīr, he clearly distinguishes “the route of Hastivanj (MSS. Hastivatar) which was the former route for the march of troops,” from the ‘Pir Pant̥sāl route’ which Akbar used on his visits to Kāsmīr.

The name Hastivanj contains in its first part undoubtedly *hast*ⁱ, the Kś. derivative of Skr. *hastin*, ‘elephant.’ The second part is connected by the Persian compilers with the root *vañj* meaning ‘to go’ in Western Panjābī. The close connection between the name and the local legend already heard by Kalhana is evident enough. But whether the latter had any foundation in fact or merely arose from some ‘popular etymology’ of the name, cannot be decided.

The story helps in any case to make it quite clear that the ancient route from the Pir Pant̥sāl Pass kept to the right or southern side of the valley. My enquiries on the spot showed that this route though neglected for many centuries is passable for laden animals and not unfrequently used by smugglers.²

44. ‘Aliābād Sarai is a Mughal hospice erected for the shelter of travellers about half a mile above Hastivañj. Pañcāladhārāmāṭha. It is about the highest point on the ascent to the pass where fuel can conveniently be obtained. I think it hence probable that the *Maṭha* or hospice which Kṣemendra mentions on the Pir Pant̥sāl Pass, must have been situated somewhere in this neighbourhood.

¹ See *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 347 sq. The form *Hastivatar* in the text is a clerical error for *Hastivanj*, easily explained in Persian characters.

² Dr. BERNIER who in the summer of 1665 accompanied Aurangzeb’s court to Kāsmīr, has left us, in his Ninth Letter to M. de Merveilles, an accurate and graphic account of the Pir Pant̥sāl Route. While ascending the Pass from the Panjāb side he passed the spot where two days earlier an accident had happened curiously resembling Mihirakula’s story. Fifteen of the elephants carrying ladies of the Imperial seraglio, owing to some confusion in the line of march, fell over the precipice and were lost; see *Bernier’s Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 407. The curious Map of Kāsmīr given in the Amsterdam edition of 1672 shows accordingly the ‘*Pire Penjale*’ mountain with a troop of elephants rolling in picturesque confusion over its side.

Former editions of Ince’s ‘*Hand-book*’ placed the scene of this accident at a spot called Lāl Ghulām just opposite Hastivañj on the ‘Imperial Road.’ It is evident that this wrong location was due to the original compiler having somehow confused Bernier’s account and the local tradition referring to Hastivanj. The edition of 1888, p. 64, rectifies this mistake, but still indicates Lāl Ghulām as the site “of many a dreadful accident” before the causeway of the ‘Imperial Road’ was made. As a matter of fact, the left side of the valley was not used at all as a route before the construction of the ‘Imperial Road’ along its cliffs.

Of the accident on Aurangzeb’s march no recollection survives.

Kṣemendra makes this interesting reference in that curious portion of the *Samayamātrkā* already alluded to, which describes the wanderings of the courtesan Kaṅkālī.¹ The heroine of his story after effecting some petty thefts in Kaśmīr proceeds to *Sūrapura*. There she passes herself off as the wife of a load-carrier (*bhārika*) engaged on the 'salt road.'² By this term the Pīr Pantsāl route is quite correctly designated. It has remained to the present day the chief route by which the produce of the Panjāb salt-mines coming *viā* Jehlam and Bhimbhar enters Kaśmīr.³ She keeps up the disguise which is evidently intended to help her through the clutches of the officials at the frontier watch-station, by taking next morning a load on her head and starting with it towards the pass (*saṁkaṭa*). On the way she passes along high mountains by precipitous paths deeply covered with snow. By night-fall she reaches the PAÑCĀLADHĀRĀMAṬHA after having in the meantime assumed the guise of a respectable housewife and apparently disposed of her load. It being late in the season, she passes the night there shivering with cold. Thence she finds her way open to India where a career of successful adventures awaits her.

45. Kṣemendra's itinerary is of particular value because it supplies us with the only mention of the old name of the pass I can trace. It is certain that with him PAÑCĀLADHĀRĀ designates the highest portion of the route, *i.e.*, the Pass of the Pīr Pantsāl. It is equally obvious that *Pañcāla* is the original of the modern Kś. *Pantsāl* which is in fact identical with the earlier form except for the regular change of Skr. *c* into Kś. *ts*. In the Pahārī dialect of the population inhabiting the valleys to the south the name is still pronounced *Pañcāl*.⁴

¹ See *Samayam*. ii. 90 *sqq.*, and above, § 25.

² Professional load-carriers or Coolies are found to this day in numbers in Hūrāpūr, Paṣiāna and other places near the Pīr Pantsāl Pass. Of Zainu-l-'ābidīn it is specially reported that he settled a colony of load-carriers from *Abhisāra* (*i.e.*, the country about Bhimbhar) at the customs-station of *Sūrapura*; see *Srīv.* i. 408. Coolies are the only means of transport on the Pīr Pantsāl and other passes when the snow lies to any depth.

³ Salt is a considerable article of import into Kaśmīr where it is wholly wanting; see LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 393. I remember vividly the long strings of salt-laden bullocks which I used to meet daily when marching into Kaśmīr by the Pīr Pantsāl route.

⁴ I am not certain of the origin of the pronunciation of the name as *Pīr Panjāl* now accepted by Anglo-Indian usage. It is known neither on the Kaśmīr nor on the Panjāb side of the range itself. It meets us first in Bernier's '*Pire Penjale*.' Tieffenthaler, however writes more correctly *Pensal*; see *Description de l'Ind* 1786, pp. 87 *sq.*

The term *dhārā* which is added to *Pañcāla*, represents in all probability the equivalent of our 'pass.' Skr. *dhārā* means generally the sharp edge of some object. According to Wilson's Dictionary, as quoted by Böthlingk-Roth, the word also carries the specific meaning of 'edge of a mountain.' It is probable that this meaning was taken by Wilson's Paṇḍits from some Kośa. In any case it agrees closely with the use of the word *dhār* in the modern Pahārī dialects south of Kaśmīr. There it is well-known as the designation of any high mountain ridge above the region of alpine pasture.

We are tempted to see in *Pañcāla* a distinct local name, either of the Pass itself or of the whole mountain chain. But the use of the modern derivative *Pantsāl* presents difficulties in the way of a certain conclusion. The word *Pantsāl* is applied in Kaśmīr chiefly to the great mountain chain which forms the boundary of the country to the south, i.e., the range to which conventional European usage gives the name of 'Pīr Pantsāl.' Yet the meaning now conveyed to a Kaśmīrī by the term *Pantsāl*, is scarcely more than that of 'high mountain range.'

The word is used in combination with specific names for the designation of subordinate branches of the great range towards the Panjāb. Thus the range crossed on the way from the Pīr Pantsāl Pass to Rajaurī, is known as '*Ratan Pantsāl*,' and the one crossed by the Hāji Pīr Pass between Ūrī and Prūnts (Pūnch) as '*Hāji Pantsāl*.' Sometimes, but not so generally, the term is applied also to mountains wholly unconnected with the Pīr Pantsāl system.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that *Pañcāla* > *Pantsāl* had originally the character of a specific local name. It may have been applied either to the whole of the great southern chain of mountains or its central portion about the Pīr Pantsāl Pass. Subsequent usage may then have extended the application of the term just as it has that of the name 'Alps' in Europe. Our materials, however, are not sufficient to enable us to trace the history of the word with certainty.¹

46. In this connection it will be useful briefly to notice also the word *Pīr* which forms the first part of the modern designation of the Pass. This word is now used more or less frequently for 'Pass' both in Kaśmīr and the hill-tracts south of it. MR. DREW who seems to have given more attention to local nomenclature in these hills than other travellers, in his explanation of the term starts from the well-known meaning of *Pīr* in Persian, an 'old man' and thence a 'saint or Faqīr.'²

¹ The main facts regarding the modern use of the word *Pantsāl* have been quite correctly recognized already by DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 157.

² See *Jummoo*, p. 157 note.

He refers to the common practice of Faqīrs establishing themselves on Passes for the sake of refreshing travellers and of receiving their alms. “When any noted holy Faqīr died on a Pass, the place became sacred to his memory, and was often called after him, his title of Pir being prefixed; at last it became so common for every important Pass to have a name beginning with Pīr that the word acquired the secondary meaning of Mountain Pass.” MR. DREW refers to the fact that Dr. Bernier already found an aged hermit established on the Pass who had resided there since the time of Jahāngīr. He was supposed “to work miracles, cause strange thunders, and raise storms of wind, hail, snow and rain.” From this ‘Pīr,’ Mr. Drew thinks, the Pass acquired the first part of its present name.

I agree with the above explanation as far as the use of the Persian word *Pīr* is concerned. But I suspect that the custom of connecting mountain passes with holy personages rests on a far older foundation. Superstitious belief has at all times and in all mountainous regions peopled the solitary summits and high ridges with spirits and other supernatural beings. To this day Kaśmīrian Brahmans fully believe in the presence of Devatās and ‘Bhūtas’ of all sorts on high mountain passes. In those parts of the Himālaya where Hinduism has survived among all classes, this superstition can, no doubt, be found still more fully developed.

On all Kaśmīr Passes, however rarely visited, stone-heaps are found marking the supposed graves of imaginary ‘Pirs.’ Every pious Muhammadan on passing adds his stone to them. Yet these little cairns existed there in all probability long before Islām reached the country. Exactly the same custom is observed, *e.g.*, by the Hindu Pilgrims to Amaranātha on crossing the Vāṇajan Pass above the lake of Suśravonāga, ‘to please the Devas’ as the Māhātmya says.¹

We can show that almost all famous Ziārats in Kaśmīr, whether of real or imaginary Muhammadan saints, occupy sites which were sacred in earlier times to one or the other Hindu divinity. We can scarcely go far wrong in concluding by their analogy that the ‘Pirs’ of the Muhammadan wayfarers have only taken the place of the older Hindu ‘Devas.’

This surmise is strikingly corroborated by the only passage of the

¹ See *Amaranāthamāhātmya*, vii. 1 sqq. The stones placed are supposed to represent *maṭhikās*, ‘shelter-huts’, in which the gods can find refuge from the evil wind blowing on the pass (hence its alleged Sanskrit name *Vāyuvarjana*). The duty of making these *Maṭhikās* is enjoined in vii. 19. *Maṭhikām ye na kurvanti tatraiva Vayuvarjanc | dāruṇam narakam yānti śatakalpam na saṁśayaḥ || kṛtvā tu maṭhikām devi pūjayed vidhipūrvakam | arpayed devaprītyartham dakṣiṇābhiḥ samanvitam ||*

Sanskrit Chronicles which mentions the Pir Pant̥sāl Pass by its proper name. Śrīvara iii. 433, when relating the return of a Kāsmīr refugee 'by the route of Sūrapura' in the time of Ḥasan Shāh (circ. A.D. 1472-84), tells us of a fatal chill he caught "on the top of the *Pañcāladeva*." It is clear that the name here used corresponds exactly to the modern Pir Pant̥sāl, 'Pir' being the nearest Muhammadan equivalent for 'Deva.' Dr. Bernier's account has already shown us that popular superstition had not failed to transfer also the supernatural powers of the 'Deva' to the Pir who acted as his representative on the Pass.

47. We may now return to the description of the old route where we left it at 'Alīābād Sarai and resume our
Pass of Pīr Pant̥sāl. journey towards the Pass. From the Mughal hospice the road ascends in a gently sloping valley westwards until at a distance of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles the height of the Pass is reached. Close to the point where the descent towards the Panjāb begins, stands the hut of a Faqīr. He has inherited the post of Bernier's Pir, but little of his spiritual powers and his emoluments. An octagonal watch-tower close by, occupied by a Sepoy post till a few years ago, may mark the site of an earlier outpost.

The descent is here as on all Passes of the range far steeper on the Panjāb side than towards Kāsmīr. *Puṣiāna*, the next stage, which is reached by zigzag paths along the rocky slope of the mountain, lies already more than 3000 feet below the Pass. The little village is an ancient place. It is undoubtedly the *PUṢYĀṆANĀḌA* of Kalhaṇa who mentions it repeatedly in connection with the civil wars of his own time.¹ *Puṣyāṇanāḍa* served often as a refuge for rebel leaders for whom Kāsmīr had become too hot. They could thence conveniently resume their inroads. We see here again clearly that the Kāsmīr frontier ran on the watershed of the range; for of *Puṣyāṇanāḍa* it is distinctly said that it belonged already to the territory of *Rājapurī*.

From *Puṣiāna* the road descends in a westerly direction along the bed of a stream which belongs to the headwaters of the *Tauṣī* (*Tohī*) of *Prūnt̥s*. The next stage is the hill-village of *Bahrāmgala*, a considerable place which is mentioned already by Śrīvara under the name of *BHAIRAVAGALA*.² From *Bahrāmgala* the route turns to the south and crosses, by the Pass known as *Ratan Pīr* (8200 feet), the range which has already been mentioned as a branch from the *Pīr Pant̥sāl* chain. There the route enters the region of the middle mountains and descends in an open valley to *Rajaurī*, the ancient *Rājapurī*, where we may leave it.

¹ Compared *Rājat.* viii. 959 note. The ending *nāḍa* is identical with *nāla*, Anglo-Indic 'Nullah,' i.e., 'valley, ravine.'

² See *Śrīv.* iv. 529, 589.

48. Beyond the Pīr Pantsāl Pass the summit-line of the main range rises again considerably. The *Tang-tala* Pass which is about five miles due north of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass and is mentioned by Abū-l-Fazl,¹ is already far higher. The track crossing it is scarcely practicable for animals.

Central part of Pīr
Pantsāl.

The same is the case, as personal experience showed me, with the next two Passes, known by the Pahārī names of *Oittapānī* and *Cōṭī Galī*; they are both over 14,000 feet high. The first one was probably used on occasion of the inroad related by Śrīvara, iv. 589 sqq. We are told there of a rebel force which coming from Rajaurī evaded the troops of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh posted at Sūrapura, by crossing the mountains in the direction of KĀCAGALA. This place, as shown on the map, corresponds undoubtedly to the alpine plateau or 'Marg' of *Kācagul* on the northern slope of the Pīr Pantsāl range.

A short distance to the northwest of the Cōṭī Galī Pass the range culminates in its greatest snowy peak, Mount *Tatakūṭī*, which rises to a height of 15,524 feet. Owing to its bold shape and central position this peak is the most conspicuous object in the panorama of the whole range, whether seen from the Kaśmīr Valley or from the Panjāb plains. To the north it presents a precipitous face of unscaleable rocks. On the south it is surrounded by snowfields which on the occasion of an ascent made late in the season I found still of considerable extent. We have already seen that it is this peak which Albērūnī describes under the name of *Kulārjak*.² For an observer from the Panjāb plain about Gujrāt the appearance of the peak, with its glittering dome of snow, is very striking, notwithstanding the great distance (about 87 miles as the crow flies). I have sighted it on very clear days even from Lahore Minārs.

From *Tatakūṭī* the chain continues at a great elevation for a considerable distance, the summit ridge keeping an average height between 14,000 and 15,000 feet. We find it crossed first by the Passes of *Sangsafed*, *Nūrpūr* and *Cōrgalī*, all difficult routes leading down into the valley of Lohārīn, the ancient Lohara. It is only at the Tōṣāmaidān Pass that we meet again with an important and ancient line of communication.

49. This Pass being on the most direct route between the Kaśmīr capital and Lohara, was of special importance during the reigns of the later Kaśmīrian kings whose original home and safest stronghold was in Lohara. We

Tōṣā maidān Route.

¹ See *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 348.

² Compare above, § 14.

find accordingly the route leading over the Tōṣṣ²maidān Pass often referred to in the last two Books of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.

But apart from this historical connection the Tōṣṣ²maidān route must have always been prominent among the old lines of communication from Kaśmīr owing to its natural advantages. It was the shortest route into the Valley of Pūnch (Parnotsa) and hence to that portion of the western Panjāb which lies between the Jehlam and Indus. It was besides under the old conditions of road and travel probably the easiest and safest route in that direction.¹

This old route started from the present village of *Drang*, situated at the foot of the mountains in the Bīru Pargaṇa, circ. 33° 57' lat. 74° 36' long. The name of the village is, of course, nothing but the old term of *draṅga*, 'watch-station.' In old times the place was distinguished as KĀRKOTĀDRAṅGA.² It may have received the distinctive first part of its name, *Kārkoṭa*, from the mountain-ridge now known as *Kākōḍar*, which is passed higher up on the route. Kś. *Kākōḍar* could well be derived from an earlier Skr. form like **Kārkoṭadhara*. The Tīrtha-saṁgraha also mentions a *Kārkoṭanāga* somewhere in this direction.

From *Drang* where a customs-station exists to this day, the road ascends over an easy forest-clad slope to the edge of the Tōṣṣ²maidān. This is, as the name indicates, a large upland plateau of undulating grazing grounds, rising very gradually from a level of about 10,000 feet. At the point where the road strikes the northern edge of the plateau, there are several ruined towers. They seem to have been last repaired on occasion of the Sikh invasion of 1814 to be referred to below, but are probably far older. The spot is known to this day as *Barbal* which in Kś. means 'the place of the Gate' (Kś. *bar* < Skr. *dvāra*). In view of this designation and the commanding position of the place we can safely locate here the proper *Dvāra* or 'Gate' of this route.³

The route after crossing the Tōṣṣ²maidān plateau ascends over gently sloping grassy ridges to the *Kākōḍar* spur and passing along the south foot of the latter reaches the Pass. The ascent is so gradual and easy that though the elevation of the latter is over 13,000 feet, the construction of a cart-road would so far meet with little difficulty. The Pass itself is equally easy.

On its west side two routes are available. One descends in the

¹ The historical references to this route will be found collected in Note E (*Rājat.* iv. 177) on Lohara, §§ 5-14.

² Compare *Rājat.* vii. 140; viii. 1596 notes.

³ The term *dvāra* is actually used by Kalhaṇa, vii. 140, 1301, for a fortified post on this route. The village *Drang* is a suitable enough position for a customs and police station; the point for military defence, however, is higher up at 'Barbal.'

Gāgrī Valley past the village of *Chāmbār* mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* by the name of S'ĀRAMBARA.¹ The other leads over a cross-spur in a south-westerly direction straight down into the valley now known as Loharīn. The position of the ancient castle of LOHARA which I was able to trace in the centre of this great and fertile valley, has been fully discussed by me in a separate note.² About 8 miles further down the valley and at the point where its waters meet the stream coming from Gāgrī, lies the large village of Maṇḍī. It marks the site of the old 'market of AṬṬĀLIKĀ,' repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa.³ From Maṇḍī onwards the route passes into the open valley of the Tohī (Tauṣī) of Prūnṭs which offers an easy line of communication down to the plains.

The historical importance of the Tōṣāmaidān route is best illustrated by the fact that it was chosen on two occasions for expeditions aiming at the invasion of Kaśmīr. We have already referred to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's expedition, probably of A.D. 1021, which Albērūnī accompanied, and to which we owe the valuable information recorded by him.⁴ This attempt at invasion, perhaps the most serious of which we know during Hindu times, was frustrated by the valorous defence of the castle of Lohara and a timely fall of snow. Nor was Mahārāja Ranjit Singh more successful when in 1814 he first attempted to invade Kaśmīr by this route.⁵ The portion of the Sikh army led by him in person, safely reached the Tōṣāmaidān plateau where the Afghān defenders were posted near the towers above mentioned. Difficulties of supplies, however, and the news of a reverse sustained by the column marching by the Pīr Pantsāl route forced on a retreat. This ended in a complete rout in the mountain defiles about Loharīn.

It may yet be mentioned that the route over the Tōṣāmaidān was already in all probability followed by Hiuen Tsiang on his way to Parṇotsa or Prūnṭs.⁶ It remained a favourite trade route until the recent Jehlam Valley cart-road was constructed. Owing to the elevation of the Pass, however, this route is always closed by snow longer than, *e.g.*, that of the Pīr Pantsāl. During the winter, therefore, the road from Lohara to Kaśmīr lay by the lower passes in the west leading into the Vitastā Valley below Bārāmūla.⁷

¹ See *Rājat.* viii. 1875-77 note.

² See Note E, iv. 177; also *Ind. Ant.* 1897, pp. 225 sqq.

³ See *Rājat.* viii. 581 note.

⁴ See above, § 14.

⁵ For a more detailed account of this expedition, see Note E, iv. 177, § 14.

⁶ Compare above, § 9.

⁷ See Note E (*Rājat.* iv. 177), §§ 7, 8, for Kalhaṇa's references to the occasions when this more circuitous route was used.

Not far to the north of the Tōṣ^amaidān Pass the range still attains a height of over 15,000 feet in a group of bold snowy peaks. Its summit ridge then gradually descends and is crossed by some lower passes from the neighbourhood of the well-known alpine plateau of Gulmarg. From a summit behind Gulmarg (marked 'Sallar' on the map) several spurs radiate. They form the northern end of the range, and descend very steeply and with faces of rugged cliffs into the narrow valley of the Vitastā.

SECTION III —THE VITASTĀ VALLEY.

50. We have already spoken of the Vitastā Valley as the single outlet for the waters of Kaśmīr and as the great gate of the country. We may now cast a glance at the old route leading through it and at the defences by which nature has fortified it.

The Vitastā Valley below Bārāmūla is confined between two ranges of mountains. The one to the south is a branch of the Pīr Panṭsāl Range separating from the main chain at a point behind Gulmarg. The range to the north belongs to a mountain-system which culminates in the Kājnāg Peak (14,400 feet) and is usually designated by the name of the latter. These two ranges accompany the course of the river for some eighty miles westwards down to the point near Muẓaffarābād where the Vitastā makes its sudden bend to the south.

Along the whole length of the Valley, cross-ridges, more or less steep and rugged, run from both sides down to the river-bed. This consists from below Bārāmūla of an almost unbroken succession of rapids, the fall in level being nearly 3000 feet in the above distance. The Valley is throughout narrow and wanting in level ground. But for about 50 miles, down to the old Kaśmīr frontier line, it may more fitly be described as a narrow ravine. Only occasional alluvial terraces high above the river afford room here for settlement and cultivation.

Owing to this extremely confined nature of the Valley, communication on the route leading along it must have always been troublesome and risky in old times. The natural difficulties of this long defile were no doubt considerably increased by the restless disposition of the Khaśa tribe which has held it since ancient times. The Sikhs who were the last to fight their way through these passes, suffered more than one disaster at the hand of the hill-men. The line of forts erected by them along the valley attests to this day the trouble they experienced

in holding the passage.¹ The military difficulties of a march through such a succession of dangerous defiles must have been even greater in old times which knew no fire-arms. The protection of the route against an active enemy who could easily seize and hold all commanding positions, was then, no doubt, a still more difficult task.

51. It is probably on account of the circumstances here briefly indicated that we hear in the Chronicles comparatively little of the route following the Vitastā. Being the shortest line of communication to the present Hazāra District and the Indus, it was certainly used from early times. We have seen that Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-k'ong coming from the ancient Gandhāra and Uraśā followed it on their way to Kaśmīr, and that it was well-known to Albērūnī.

But it seems probable that its importance, military and commercial, was then far smaller than that of the Pīr Pantsāl and Tōṣ²maidān routes. It is only in modern times that this western route has attained real prominence. This originated in the time of the Afghān rule over Kaśmīr when the route along the Vitastā to Muḡaffarābād and hence though Hazāra afforded the shortest and least exposed line of communication between Kaśmīr and Peshawar.² Subsequently after the annexation of the Panjāb, the establishment of the hill-station of Murree naturally drew traffic in this direction. The construction of the Tonga Road from Murree to Bārāmūla in our own time finally assured to this route its present supremacy.

There is at present a road on each side of the Valley leading down to Muḡaffarābād. But only the route along the right bank of the river can claim any antiquity. The one on the opposite bank has come into general use only within the last few decades since traffic towards Murree and Rawalpindi sprung up. The track chosen for the old road is easily accounted for by topographical facts. We have already noticed that the Vitastā Valley route was of importance chiefly as leading to Hazāra (Uraśā) and hence to the old Gandhāra. A glance at the map will show that the open central portion of Hazāra is most easily gained by crossing the Kiṣangaṅgā just above Muḡaffarābād and then passing the comparatively low ridge which separates this river from the Kunhār stream. The route here indicated finds its natural continuation towards

¹ Moorcroft's account of his attempt to use the Muḡaffarābād route in 1823 gives a graphic picture of the obstacles created by the rapacious hill-tribes; see *Travels*, ii. pp. 281 *sqq.* Compare also LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 200.

² Baron HÜGEL quite correctly notes a Kaśmīr tradition that the Bārāmūla route was properly opened up only about 80 years before his own visit (1835) on the arrival of the Paṭhāns; see *Kaschmir*, ii. p. 174.

Kaśmīr on the right bank of the Vitastā, the crossing of the latter being wholly avoided. It has already been shown above that this route, now marked by the stages of Abbottabad, Garhi Habībullāh, Muẓaffarābād and Bārāmūla, is directly indicated in Albērūnī's itinerary.¹

52. We may now proceed to examine the old notices regarding this route. It started in Kaśmīr from the twin Gate of Varāhamūla. towns of *Varāhamūla-Huṣkapura* which occupied the sites of the present Bārāmūla and Uṣkūr, respectively. Huṣkapura on the left river bank, though the more important of the two places in ancient times, has dwindled down to a mere village. Varāhamūla-Bārāmūla, however, on the opposite bank is still a flourishing place and an emporium of trade. It occupies a narrow strip of open ground between the river and the foot of a steep mountain side.

Close to the western end of the town a rocky ridge with a precipitous slope runs down into the river-bed. Only a few yards' space is left open for the road. At this point there stood till last year (1897) an old ruined gateway known to the people as the *Drang* or 'watch-station.' It had been occupied as a military police post; until the 'Rāhdārī' system was abolished, watch was kept here over those who entered or left the Valley. I had examined the gateway in 1892. When revisiting the spot in May, 1898, I could scarcely trace its foundations. The decayed walls had meanwhile been sold by auction, and its materials carried away by a contractor.

Though the structure I had seen, was scarcely older than the time of Sikh rule, there can be little doubt that it marked the site of the ancient 'Gate' of Varāhamūla. This is clearly indicated by the situation of the spot which is by far the most convenient in the neighbourhood for the purpose of a watch-station. Moorcroft does not mention the name *Drang*, but describes the gateway itself accurately enough. Here then, we may assume, stood in ancient times "the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom", through which Hiuen Tsiang had passed before he reached Huṣkapura (*Hu-se-kia-lo*), his first night's quarter in the Valley. Ou-k'ong too and Albērūnī, as we have seen, knew well this watch-station which is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the general designation of *Dvāra*.²

The road keeps close by the bank of the river as it winds in rapid fall through the rock-bound gorge. About two and a half miles below 'Drang' the hill sides recede slightly, leaving room for a small village

¹ See above, § 14. [The construction of a Tonga road between Abbottabad and Muẓaffarābād, recently sanctioned (1899), is sure to make the old route through Hazāra again popular.]

² See *Rājat*, viii. 413 note.

called *Nārān Thal*. Near it stands a little temple, with a spring close by which is visited by pilgrims and is probably identical with the *Nārāyaṇa-sthāna* of the *Nīlamata*.¹

About a mile below this point and close to the village of *Khādā-niyār*,² the river turns sharply round a steep and narrow spur projecting into the valley from the north-west. A ledge of rocks continues the spur below the river-bed and forms the first serious rapid of the *Vitastā* below which boats cannot pass (see map). The road crosses the spur by a narrow and deep cut, known as *Dyārāgul*. *Kalhaṇa*'s *Chronicle* knows this curious cutting by the appropriate name of *Yakṣadara*, 'the demon's cleft.' According to the tradition there recorded the operations by which *Suyya*, *Avantivarman*'s engineer, lowered the level of the *Vitastā*, extended to this point of the river bed.³

53. Two miles below *Dyārāgul* we pass near the village of *Zehenpōr*

Old frontier in
Vitastā Valley.

some ancient sites vaguely described by *Vigne* and *Hügel*. Still further down near the village of *Gingal* the map marks the ruins of a

temple which I have not been able to visit. But no localities on this route are known to us from our old sources until after about three and a half marches we reach the side valley marked on the map as '*Peliasa*.' This valley and the large village at its entrance are known indeed to the *Pahārī* population by the name of *Peliāsa*. But the *Kaśmīrīs* settled at several places along the *Vitastā Valley* call them *Buliāsa*. This form of the name which I ascertained by local enquiries, enables us to identify this locality with the *BOLYĀSAKA* of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

Kalhaṇa in his account of *Śaṃkaravarman*'s ill-fated expedition towards the *Indus* (A.D. 902) mentions *Bolyāsaka* as the place where the *Kaśmīr* army retreating from *Uraśā* reached the border of their own territory.⁴ This reference is of special interest as it shows that *Kaśmīr* authority extended in Hindu times down to this point of the Valley. We can easily reconcile this fact with the existence of the '*Dvāra*' at *Varāhamūla*.

The gorge at the latter place offered a convenient position for establishing a watch-station which was to secure control over the traffic and the collection of customs. But in regard to military defence a frontier-line in the immediate vicinity of the *Kaśmīr Valley* would have been very unsafe. I believe, therefore, that the *Vitastā Valley*

¹ See *Nīlamata*, 1179, 1315, 1349. The name occurs also repeatedly in the several *Varābhakṣetramāhātmyas*.

² Perhaps the *Khādunāvihāra* of *Rājat.* iii. 14.

³ Compare *Rājat.* v. 87 note.

⁴ See *Rājat.* v. 225 note.

below Varāhamūla was held as an outlying frontier-tract as far as the present Buliāsa. It is exactly a few miles below this place that ascending the Valley the first serious difficulties are encountered on the road. An advanced frontier-post could scarcely have occupied a strategically more advantageous position.

The conclusion here indicated is fully supported by what Kalhaṇa's narrative tells us of a locality almost exactly opposite to Buliāsa. Kalhaṇa mentions in two places a place called VĪRĀNAKA in connection with events which make it clear that it lay in the Vitastā Valley and just on the border of Kaśmīr territory.¹ I have been able to trace the position of Vīrānaka at the modern hill-village of *Vīran*, near the left bank of the Vitastā and only a short distance above Buliāsa. The valley below the old frontier thus marked is now known as *Dvārbidī*. Its ancient name is given by an old gloss of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī which speaks of Bolyāsaka as situated in DVĀRAVATĪ. Local enquiries have shown me that even to the present day popular tradition indicates a ridge a short distance above Buliāsa as the eastern limit of Dvārbidī.²

In the account of Saṃkaravarman's above-mentioned expedition six marches are reckoned from the capital of Uraśā to Bolyāsaka. This agrees exactly with the present reckoning which also counts six marches from the vicinity of Buliāsa to Abbottabad.³ Near this place, the modern head-quarter of the Hazāra District, the old capital of Uraśā was in all probability situated.

54. It remains for us to notice briefly what is known of ancient localities on the left side of the Valley. As already explained there was no great line of communication on this side corresponding to the present Murree-Bārāmūla Road. Yet for two marches down the Valley, as far as Ūrī, the route of the left bank is likely to have been much frequented. From Ūrī a convenient route leads over the easy Hāji Pīr Pass to Prūnṭs or Parnotsa. This pass owing to its small elevation, only 8500 feet, is never completely closed by snow. It is hence much used during the winter-months when the more direct routes to Kaśmīr *viā* the Pīr Panṭsāl, Tōṣṣamāidān or other high Passes are rendered impracticable.

¹ See *Rājat.* v. 214 and viii. 409. In the first passage we hear of an attack made on Vīrānaka by the chief commander of the frontier posts (*dvāreśa*). In the second *Vīrānaka* is referred to as a settlement of Khaśas which offered the first safe refuge to Sussala when defeated before Varāhamūla, A.D. 1111.

² See *Rājat.* v. 225 and note v. 214.

³ Compare *Rājat.* v. 217 note; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 104, and DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 528.

Marching down the valley from Uṣkūr: Huṣkapura, we first cross the spur which bounds the gorge of Varāhamūla from the south. We then reach a fertile little plain, about two miles broad, charmingly situated in an amphitheatre of high pine-clad mountains and facing the Dyāṛ²gul ridge. It is known as *Nārāvāv* and contains at the village of *Sīr* and *Fatlegarh* considerable remains of ancient temples. On a small plateau which forms the western boundary of this plain by the river bank, lies the village of *Kits²hōm*. It marks the site of the ancient Buddhist convent of *Kṛtyāśrama*, the foundation of which a curious legend related by Kalhaṇa attributes to the son of Aśoka.¹ Ou-k'ong refers to it as the 'monastère du mont *Kitché*.'

At Būniār, near the end of the first day's march we pass the well-preserved ruins of an ancient temple which are of considerable antiquarian interest. Its name and date cannot be traced in our extant records. Another similar ruin, but far more decayed, flanks the road about midway between Būniār and Ūrī.

From near the latter place the Vitastā Valley is held on the left bank chiefly by the Khakha tribe, on the right by the closely related Bombas. In the former we recognize the ancient *Khaśas* whose settlements lower down the Valley, at Vīrānaka, are distinctly mentioned by Kalhaṇa.² The predatory habits and restless ways of the *Khaśas* form a frequent theme in the Chronicle. The modern Khakhas and Bombas have up to the middle of the present century done their best to maintain this ancient reputation, just as their seats have remained the old ones.

¹ See *Rājat.* i. 147 note; also my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 13 sqq. *Kṛtyāśrama* is mentioned already by Kṣemendra, *Samayam.* ii. 61.

² *Rājat.* viii. 409.

SECTION IV.—NORTHERN MOUNTAIN RANGE.

55. The mountains which enclose the Kaśmīr Valley in the north-west and north, may be looked upon as one great range. Their chain nowhere shows any marked break though its direction changes considerably. The routes leading through these mountains have never been of such importance in the history of Kaśmīr as the routes towards India and the west. Hence our information regarding the old topography of this mountain range is also less detailed.

Range towards
Karnau and Śardi.

We are least informed about that portion of the range which joins on to the Kājnāg Peak north-west of Bārāmūla and then continues in the direction of south to north towards the upper Kiṣangaṅgā. The watershed of this portion forms the western boundary of Kaśmīr towards *Karnau*, the ancient KARNĀHA.¹ This territory which may be roughly described as lying between the Kiṣangaṅgā and the Kājnāg Range, seems at times to have been tributary to Kaśmīr. Yet we hear of it only in the concluding portion of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, and there too no details are given regarding the routes leading to it. These routes as the map shows, start from the ancient districts of *Samālā* (Hamal) and *Uttara* (Uttar).

At the point where the summit of the range comes nearest to the Kiṣangaṅgā, it takes a turn to the east and continues in this direction for more than 100 miles. The summit ridge keeps after this turn at a fairly uniform height of 12,000 to 13,000 feet for a long distance. From the northern parts of the Uttar and Lōlau Parganas several routes cross the range in the direction of the Kiṣangaṅgā.

Kalhaṇa has occasion to refer to these in connection with the expedition which took place in his own time against the *Sīraḥśilā* castle. This stood on the Kiṣangaṅgā close to the ancient Tīrtha of the goddess *Sāradā* still extant at the present Śardi.² One of these routes leads past the village of *Draṅg*, situated at 74° 18' 45" long. 34° 33' 30" lat. It is certain that the place took its name from an ancient watch-station here located and is identical with the *DRAṅGA* mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the above expedition.³ I have not been able to visit the place in person but was informed in the neighbourhood that remains of

¹ Compare *Rājat.* viii. 2485 note.

² Compare regarding the *Sāradātīrtha* and the castle of *Sīraḥśilā*, notes i. 36 (B) and viii. 2492 (L), respectively; also below, § 127.

³ See *Rājat.* viii. 2507 note.

old watch-towers are still found on the path which leads up to the pass behind the village of Drang.

Besides the route marked by this old frontier-station there are others leading in the same direction. One is to the west over the Sitalvan Pass; the other lies in the west and passing through the valley of Krōras descends directly to Sardi along the *Madhumatī* stream. The portion of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley into which these routes lead, can never have been of much importance itself though there are indications of gold-washing having been carried on in it.¹ But from Sardi starts a route leading very directly, by the Kankatōri (Sarasvatī) River and over a high pass, into Cilās on the Indus;² this line of communication may already in old times have brought some traffic to Sardi.

Owing to the inroads made by Cilāsīs and the restless Bomba chiefs of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley, the Pathān Governors found it necessary to settle Afrīdis at Drang and the neighbouring villages to guard the passes. The presence of these Afghān colonies shows that the conditions which necessitated the maintenance of the old frontier watch-station at Draṅga, had altered little in the course of centuries.

56. Above Sardi the course of the Kiṣangaṅgā lies for a long distance through an almost inaccessible and uninhabited gorge. Hence for over 30 miles eastwards we find no proper route across the mountain range. Kalhaṇa gives us a vivid and interesting account of the difficulties offered by a winter-march along the latter when he describes the flight of the pretender Bhoja from Sīrahśilā castle to the Darads on the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā.³

Pass of Dugdha-
ghāta.

The line of communication we meet next is, however, an important one. It leads from the north shore of the Volur lake into that part of the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley which is known as Gurēz, and connects with the routes leading to Astōr and the Baltī territory on the Indus. The road used in recent years, and now improved by British engineers into the 'Gilgit Transport Road,' crosses the range by the *Trāg^abal* or *Rāzdiangan* Pass, nearly 12,000 feet high. But the route frequented in ancient times lay some eight miles further to the east.

Kalhaṇa refers in several places to the hill fort of DUGDHAGHĀTA which guarded the mountain-route leading into Kaśmīr territory from inroads of the Darads. The latter can easily be shown to have held

¹ Compare Note B on Sāradā (*Rājat.* i. 36), §§ 2, 16. To this circumstance the of Drang owes probably the distinguishing designation of *Sun^a-Drang* 'the Gold Drang,' by which it is popularly known.

² See BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 490.

³ See *Rājat.* viii. 2710 sqq.

then as now the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā Valley about Gurēz and the neighbouring territories to the north. From Kalhaṇa's description it is evident that this frontier fort stood on, or close to, the summit of a pass. Thanks to the indications of the Chronicle I was able to identify its site on the top of the *Dudākhut* Pass.¹ The Pass (shown on the map by its ancient name *Dugdhaḡhāta*) is approached on the Kaśmīr side from the valley of the Baṇḍāpōr stream, still known to the Brahmans by its old name *Madhumatī*. At the small village of Ātavuṭh (map 'Atawat') a side valley is entered which is narrow and somewhat difficult below, but higher up widens. Its highest portion which forms the immediate approach to the pass, is an open alpine valley known to the mountain shepherds as *Vijje Marg*.

The term *Marg* which denotes any high alpine grazing ground frequented in the summer by herdsmen, is the modern Kaśmīrī equivalent, and direct derivative, of Skr. *maṭhikā*. It designated originally the small shelter-huts of stone or wood usually erected on such high plateaus or valleys by their summer occupants.² It is probably that *Vijje Marg* represents the *Prājimaṭhikā* which Kalhaṇa mentions as the position occupied by the Kaśmīr forces during their unsuccessful siege of the fort.

As a characteristic point it may be mentioned that the garrison depended for its water-supply on the storage of snow. This had become exhausted at the late summer season when the siege took place, but, luckily for the Darad defenders, was replaced by a fresh fall of snow. The latter is explained by the elevation of the pass which I estimated at about 11,500 feet. Snow-storms occur sometimes on the neighbouring *Trāḡabal* Pass so early as September.

From the *Dudākhut* Pass an easy track over the ridge marked 'Kiser' on the map leads down to Gurēz, the chief place of the Valley. The latter corresponds probably to the *DARATPURĪ* of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The route over the *Dudākhut*, being very direct and comparatively easy during the summer, was much frequented by Dard traders until the recent construction of the 'Gilgit Transport Road.' It was used by the Sikhs for military convoys until a disaster caused by an avalanche above Ātavuṭh induced them to change it for the *Trāḡabal* route. It also seems to have been mentioned to Baron HÜGEL.³ In Muhammadan

¹ For detailed evidence regarding this location and a description of the site, see *Rājat.* vii. 1171 note.

² Skr. *maṭhikā* is the diminutive of *maṭha* 'hut', 'Sarai.' The Kś. derivative of the latter term, *mar*, is still used regularly for the rude shelter-huts which are found on the higher passes particularly towards the north.

³ See *Kashmir*, ii. p. 169.

times both routes were in charge of a 'Malik' who resided in the castle of *Baṇḍāḱōṭh*, not far from the ancient *Mātrgrāma* shown on the map.

In ancient times there probably existed in the same neighbourhood a watch-station or *Draṅga*. *Ou-k'ong* when speaking of the 'gate to the north' through which the road led to *Poliu* or *Baltistān*, may have meant either this *Draṅga* or the fort of *Dugdhaghāta*.

57. To the east of the *Dudākhut* Pass the summits of the range **Mount Haramukuṭa.** gradually get higher and higher until we reach the great mountain-mass of the *Haramukh* Peaks. Rising to close on 17,000 feet and surrounded by glaciers of considerable size, these Peaks dominate the view towards the north from a great part of the *Kaśmīr* Valley. Sacred legends have clustered around them from early times. The lakes below their glaciers belong still to the holiest of *Kaśmīrian* *Tirthas*. The ancient name of the Peaks is *HARAMUKUṬA*, 'Sīva's diadem.' This is explained by a legend which is related at length in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*.¹ Their height is supposed to be Sīva's favourite residence.² Hence *Kaśmīrian* tradition stoutly maintains that human feet cannot reach the Peaks' summit.³

The lake which lies at the foot of the north-eastern glacier, at a level of over 13,000 feet, is looked upon as the true source of the *Kaśmīr* *Gaṅgā* or *Sind* River. It is hence known as *UTTARAGAṆGĀ* or popularly *Gangabal*.⁴ It is the final goal of the great 'Haramukuṭagaṅgā' pilgrimage which takes place annually in the month of *Bhādrapada* and is attended by thousands of pilgrims. The bones of those who have died during the year, are on that occasion deposited in the sacred waters. A short distance below this lake is another also fed by a glacier and now known as *Nundkōl*. Its old name *Kālodaka* or *Nandisaras* is derived from a legend which makes the lake the joint habitation of *Kāla*, i.e., Sīva, and of his faithful attendant *Nandin*. From the

¹ See *Haracar.* iv. 62 sqq.

² The legends relating to Sīva's residence on Mount *Haramukuṭa* and his connection with the several sacred sites of *Nandikṣetra*, are given at great length in the *Nīlamata* 1049 sqq.

³ Owing to this superstition I had great difficulty in inducing any of my *Kaśmīrī* Coolies (Muhammadans!) to accompany me on the ascent I made to the Peaks in September, 1894. My Brahman friends could not give credence to my having reached the summit. According to their opinion the very fact of my having reached the Peak was a sufficient proof of this not having been *Haramukuṭa*. An argument as simple as incontrovertible to the orthodox mind.

⁴ See my note *Rājat.* i. 57. Another name often used in the *Nīlamata* and other texts is *Uttaramānasa*; see *Rājat.* iii. 448 note.

latter the whole collection of sacred sites takes the name of *Nandikṣetra* by which Kalhaṇa usually designates it.¹

In the valley of the Kāṅk^anai stream (Skr. KANAKAVĀHINĪ) which issues from these lakes, lies the sacred site of Śiva BHŪTEŚVARA (now Buthiśēr). It is closely connected with the legends of Mount Haramukūṭa and often mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.² A series of interesting temple ruins marks the importance of this Tīrtha and that of the ancient *Jyeṣṭheśvara* shrine which immediately adjoins it.³ Bhūteśvara is passed by the pilgrims on their way back from the sacred lakes, while on their way up they reach the latter by another route, passing the high ridge known as BHARATAGIRI and the smaller lake of BRAHMASARAS.

From the Gaṅgā lake a track passable for ponies leads over the *Satsaran* Pass to *Tilēl*, a Dard district on the Kiṣaṅgāṅgā. It is probably the route by which King Harṣa's rebel brother Vijayamalla escaped from Lahara (Lār) to the Darad territory.⁴

58. Eastwards from the Haramukūṭa Peaks the range does not overlook on the south the main Valley of North-eastern range. Kaśmīr, but that of the Sind River. The general level of the summits rises, and glaciers of fair size become frequent on their northern slopes. Close to the head of the Sind Valley, the range we have been so far following joins on to the great chain of snowy mountains which stretches from Mount Nangā Parvat in a south-easterly direction to the Nankun Peaks in Sūru.⁵ A few miles south of this junction we arrive at a gap in the mountains which forms the lowest watershed between the Indus and the Vitastā basins. It is the Pass known generally by its Ladākhī name of *Zōjī-Lā*. It leads at an elevation of 11,300 feet from Baltal, on the headwaters of the Sind, to a high-level valley draining into the Drās River and hence into the Indus.

The route leading over the *Zōjī-Lā* undoubtedly has been already in ancient times a most important thoroughfare. It connects Kaśmīr with Ladākh and thence with Tibet and China. Here too the natural watershed has in old as in modern times been also the ethnic boundary. Beyond the Pass begins the land of the *Bhauṭtas* or *Bhuttas*, as the Tibetan inhabi-

¹ See *Rājat.* i. 36 note.

² See regarding the history and remains of *Bhūteśvara*, *Rājat.* i. 107 ; v. 55 notes. The Tīrtha was rich enough to attract a special expedition of marauding hillmen in Kalhaṇa's time ; see viii. 2756.

³ See *Rājat.* i. 113 note.

⁴ See *Rājat.* vii. 911.

⁵ Compare regarding this great range which may fitly be called the main range of the mountain system around Kaśmīr, DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 194 sqq.

tants of the Indus region are uniformly designated in our Kaśmīrian texts (modern Kś. *Buta*).¹

Ou-k'ong is the first who refers distinctly to this route when speaking of the road which leads through the gate in the east to Tou-fan or Tibet. Kalhana has scarcely occasion to refer to it, as the regions beyond the Pass lay quite beyond the reach of the political power of the later Kaśmīrian kings. He probably means, however, the Zōjī-Lā when mentioning the route of the *Bhutṭa*-land (*Bhutṭarāṣṭrādhvan*) by which the Darads offered to pass the pretender Bhoja into Kaśmīr, while the more direct routes from their own territory were closed by the winter.² An easy pass connects Tilēl at the head of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley with the Drās territory to the east. From there Bhoja could then have entered Kaśmīr *viā* the Zōjī-Lā.

This Pass, the ancient name of which is not known to us, has more than once witnessed successful invasions of Kaśmīr. Through it came early in the 14th century the Turk (?) *Dulca* and the *Bhautṭa Riñcana* whose usurpation led to the downfall of Hindu rule in the Valley.³ About two centuries later Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar with his small Mughal force successfully fought here his entrance into Kaśmīr (A.D. 1532). The account he gives of this exploit in his *Tārīkh-i-Rāshidī*, is not without topographical interest.⁴

59. A high peak situated about 10 miles east-southeast of the Zōjī-Lā, marks the point where the range forming the eastern boundary of Kaśmīr branches off from the main chain. This range runs in an almost southerly direction until it reaches the southernmost headwaters of the Vitastā. It then turns to the north-west and at the Bān^ahāl Pass joins on to the Pīr Pant^sāl Range. Through this range there lead routes connecting Kaśmīr with the Maḍivāḍvan Valley (see § 84) which drains into the Cināb, and with Kaṣṭ^avār, the ancient Kāṣṭavāṭa, on the Cināb itself. Both these Valleys are confined, difficult of access, and scantily populated. They have hence never played an important part either in the foreign relations or trade of Kaśmīr. On this account our notices regarding the old topography of the dividing range are extremely meagre.

¹ Compare *Rājat.* i. 312-316 note.

² Compare *Rājat.* viii. 2887.

³ See *Jonar.* 142 *sqq.*, and for the stratagem by which Riñcana forced his way into Lahara (Lār), 165 *sqq.* The *Laharakoṭṭa* mentioned in the last passage probably represents the old watch-station of this route, but its position is uncertain.

⁴ See *Tārīkh-i-Rāshidī*, transl. by Messrs. Elias and Ross, pp. 423 *sqq.*, and below, § 131.

At its northern end and close to the great snowy peak already mentioned, is the Tīrtha of AMAREŚVARA or AMARANĀTHA, known by its Kasmīrī name as *Amburnāth*. Together with the sacred Gaṅgā-lake on Mount Haramukūṭa, it is now the most popular of Kasmīrian pilgrimage places. Its Yātrā in the month of Śrāvaṇa attracts many thousands of pilgrims not only from Kasmīr but from all parts of India.¹ Their goal is a cave situated at a considerable altitude and formed by a huge fissure on the south side of a snowy peak, 17,300 feet high (marked 'Ambarnath' on map). In this cave there is a large block of transparent ice formed by the freezing of the water which oozes from the rock. It is worshipped as a self-created (*svayambhū*) Liṅga, and is considered the embodiment of Śiva-Amareśvara.

Judging from the scanty references made to this Tīrtha in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and the Nilamata, it appears doubtful whether it could have enjoyed in old times quite such great celebrity as now. But Jonarāja already relates a visit to this sacred site paid by Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidīn,² and in the Māhātmya literature Amareśvara receives its due share of attention. The pilgrims' route described in great detail by the Amaranāthamāhātmya ascends the valley of the eastern branch of the Lidar or Ledarī.

There the lake of the Nāga SUŚRAVAS, now known as Suśramnāg or (with a popular etymology) Śeṣanāg, is visited at the north foot of a great glacier descending from the Kohenhār Peak. In this lake and a small rock-bound inlet of it called JĀMĀTRNĀGA (Zām³turī Nāg), the local legend, related by Kalhaṇa, i. 267 *sqq.*, and connected with the ancient site of Narapura, has placed the habitation of the Nāga Suśravas and of his son-in-law.³ The route then crosses a high pass, known as Vāv²jan (Skr. *Vāyuvarjana* in the Māhātmya), into a high-level valley drained by five streams which bear the joint designation of PAÑCATARAṅGIṆĪ. From there the pilgrims toil up a lofty spur to the north-east and descend into the narrow gloomy valley which lies at the foot of the Amburnāth Peak. It is watered by a stream (Amarāvati) which comes from the glacier of a still higher peak to the east. Joining the Pañcatarāṅgiṇī it flows through an inaccessible gorge down to the head of the Sind Valley near Baltal.

¹ See for the old notices of the Tīrtha, *Rājat.* i. 267 note ; for a description of the modern pilgrimage, VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. pp. 10 *sqq.*, and BATES, *Gazetteer*, pp. 121 *sq.*

² Compare *Jonar.* (Bombay ed.) 1233 *sqq.*

³ Compare *Rājat.* i. 267 note.

60. Connected with the eastern range is a mass of mountains which it will be convenient to mention here though it does not form part of the mountain-barriers of Kaśmīr. It fills the great triangular space which lies between the Sind Valley and the range in the east we have just noticed, the level ground along the right bank of the Vitastā forming as it were the base. This mass of mountains separates from the eastern ridge between the Kohenhār and Āmburnāth Peaks. Trending westwards it soon culminates in the conspicuous pinnacle of Mount *Gāśabṛāṇ* (map 'Kolahoi'), close on 18,000 feet in height. From this conspicuous mountain numerous spurs radiate with glaciers in their topmost hollows.

The highest of these ridges runs for about thirty miles along the Sind Valley, of which it forms the southern side. A high cross-spur, now known as *Dūrūn Nār*, which descends to the north towards *Sunāmarg*, is probably identical with Mount *DHUPĀVANA*, the scene of a siege related in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.¹ The extremity of this ridge in the west forms the amphitheatre of bold hills which encircle the *Ḍal* lake and *Śrīnagar* on the north. Here we have Mount *MAHĀDEVĀ* which is much frequented as a *Tīrtha*.²

Facing it from the south is the rocky spur which lines the eastern shores of the *Ḍal*. It bore in old days the name of *ŚRĪDVĀRA*,³ and is the site of a series of ancient pilgrimage places, such as *Sureśvarī*, *Tripureśvara*, *Harṣeśvara*, and *Jyeṣṭheśvara*, which will be discussed below. The extreme offshoot of this spur is the 'Hill of Gopa' (*Gopādrī*), the present *Takht-i Sulaimān*, which is so conspicuous a feature in the landscape of *Śrīnagar*. Other spurs descending into the vale further east form successively the semicircular side-valleys containing the *Pargaṇas* of *Vihī* and *Vular*.

We now return once more to the eastern range. South of the Kohenhār Peak which is still over 17,000 feet high, its summit ridge gets gradually lower. It is crossed by the *Margan* Pass into *Maḍivāḍvan*. Of the latter valley I can find no old mention. Still further south we come to the *Marbal* Pass, at an elevation of 11,500 feet, which forms the usual route towards *Kaṣṭhāvār*.

This territory which is now partially inhabited by Kaśmīrīs, is mentioned as an independent hill-state by *Kalhana*.⁴ The valley into

¹ See *Rājat.* viii. 595 note and below, § 131.

² It is mentioned in the *Nīlamata*, 1324, and frequently in the *Śarvāvatāra*.

³ See *Rājat.* viii. 2422 note.

⁴ Compare regarding the old *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* note vii. 588-590, where also the references in the later Chronicles are given.

which the route descends immediately after crossing the Marbal Pass, is known now as *Khaiśāl*. It is once mentioned as *Khaśālī* by Kalhana and more frequently referred to in the last Chronicle by the name of *KHAŚĀLAYA*.¹ From the latter source we learn that it was inhabited by Khaśas to whose occupation it may have owed also its name. So we note here once more in the east the coincidence of the ethnic boundary with the natural watershed.

SECTION V.—UPPER COURSE OF THE VITASTĀ.

61. We have now completed the circuit of the great mountain-barriers which enclose the Kaśmīr Valley, and can turn our attention to its interior. This is naturally divided into two great parts. One comprises the plain formed by the alluvium of the Vitastā and its main tributaries; the other consists of plateaus or Karēwas elevated above the river flats and largely caused by old lacustrine deposits. We shall first notice the alluvial plain and the river-system which has created it.

The great river which is the recipient of the whole drainage of the country, is now known to Kaśmīrīs by the name of *Vyath*. This modern designation is the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient Sanskrit VITASTĀ which we meet already among the river-names of the Rigveda.² The intermediary Prakrit form **Vidastā* underlies the *Hydaspes* of the Greeks in which we note, as so frequently in Greek renderings of foreign names, the modifying action of popular etymology.³ In Ptolemy's *Bidaspes* we have another rendering which though later in date yet approaches closer to the sound of the Indian original.⁴ The name *Jehlām* which is

¹ Compare *Rājat.* vii. 399 note.

² The line of phonetic development may be roughly represented as Skr. *Vitastā* > Pr. **Vidastā* > Ap. **Vi[h]ath* > Kś. *Vyath*.

The name Vitastā is still well-known to Kaśmīr Brahmans from the Māhātmyas and similar texts, and is currently used by them. The form 'Vedasta' which Drew and other writers indicate as the old name of the river "still used by those who follow Sanskrit literature," is due to some error of hearing. It is curious to meet a similar form **Vidastā* in the transcription of the Chinese Annals of the 8th century; see my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, p. 31.

³ The ending in the form *Hydaspes* is undoubtedly due to the influence of the numerous Persian names known to the Greeks which end in -ασπης (Old Persian *aspa*). For the rendering of initial *Vi-* by 'Y' compare *Hystaspes*: *Vishtāspa*.

⁴ Ptolemy's *Bi* (for *Vi*) is the most exact phonetic reproduction possible in Greek characters. It is evident from Ptolemy's Panjāb river names that he did not take

now borne by the Vitastā in its course through the Panjāb, is wholly unknown to the genuine usage of Kaśmīr. It is apparently of Muhammadan origin and has been brought to Kaśmīr only by Europeans and other foreigners.¹

The river to which the name Vitastā or Vyath is properly applied, is first formed by the meeting of the several streams which drain the south-eastern portion of the Valley. This meeting takes place in the plain close to the present town of Anantnāg or Islāmābād. But sacred tradition has not failed to trace the holiest of Kaśmīr rivers to a more specific source.

An ancient legend, related at length in the *Nilamata* and reproduced by the author of the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*,² represents the Vitastā as a manifestation of Śiva's consort Pārvatī. After Kaśmīr had been created, Śiva at the request of Kaśyapa, prevailed upon the goddess to show herself in the land in the shape of a river, in order to purify its inhabitants from the sinful contact with the Piśācas. The goddess thereupon assumed the form of a river in the underworld, and asked her consort to make an opening by which she might come to the surface. This he did by striking the ground near the habitation of the Nīlanāga with the point of his trident (*śūla*). Through the fissure thus made which measured one *vitasti* or span, the river gushed forth, receiving on account of this origin the name *Vitastā*. The spring-basin where the goddess first appeared was known by the several designations of *Nīlakunḍa*, *Sūlaḡhāta* ('spear-thrust') or simply *Vitastā*.³ It is clear that the spring meant is the famous Nīlanāga, near the village of Vērnāg in the *Shāhābād* Pargana. It is a magnificent fountain which amply deserves the honour of being thus represented as the traditional source of the great river.⁴

The legend makes Pārvatī-Vitastā subsequently disappear again from fear of defilement by the touch of sinful men. When brought to light a second time by Kaśyapa's prayer the goddess issued from the Nāga of *Pañcahasta*. In this locality we easily recognize the present

his nomenclature directly or indirectly from the historians of Alexander, but from independent sources. Bidaspes, Zaradros, Bibasis, Sandabal, these all represent unsophisticated attempts to reproduce in sound the genuine Indian forms. The same cannot be said of the names given by Arrian, Pliny, etc.

¹ Albērūnī already knows the name *Jailam*; see above, § 14. Śrīvara when relating an expedition of Sultān Haidar Shāh into the Panjāb, sanskritizes this name into *Jyalami*; see ii. 152.

² See *Nilamata*, 238 sqq.; *Haracar.* xii. 2-34.

³ See *Nilamata*, 1290; *Haracar.* xii. 17.

⁴ Compare for the Nīlanāga and its round spring-basin (*kunḍa*), *Rājat.* i. 28 note

village of Pānzath, situated in the Div²sar Pargaṇa and boasting of a fine spring which is still visited by the pious of the neighbourhood.¹ After another disappearance for a reason similar to the above, the goddess came forth a third time at *Narasimhāśrama*. This place I am unable to trace with certainty. Finally the goddess was induced to abide permanently in the land when Kaśyapa had secured for her the company of other goddesses, who also embodied themselves in Kaśmīr streams, like Lakṣmī in the Viśokā, Gaṅgā in the Sindhu, etc.

Another version of the legend which, however, seems of less ancient date, seeks the place of the Vitastā's second appearance in the spring of the modern *Vith²vutur*, a small village situated about one mile to the N. W. of Vērnāg.² The place is known by the name of *Vitastātra* to Kalhaṇa who mentions Stūpas erected there by King Aśoka.³ This notice certainly seems to indicate some sacred character attaching to the spot. Yet Kalhaṇa's direct mention of the Nilakuṇḍa as the birth-place of the Vitastā leaves no doubt as to where the tradition prevalent in his own time placed the source of the sacred river.⁴

62. The streams which unite close to Anāt-nāg and there form the true Vitastā river, are the *Sāndran*, the *Bring*, *Ār^apath* and *Lid^ar*. Of these the first and southernmost drains the *Shāhābād* (or Vēr) Pargaṇa and receives the water of the sacred springs mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Its old name I am unable to trace with any certainty. The next affluent, the *Bring*, comes from the side-valley which forms the Pargaṇa of the same name. The ancient name of the stream is unknown, the modern *Vitastāmāhātmya* which gives it as *Bhr̥ṅgī*, being but a doubtful authority. The *Bring* too is fed by the water of some well-known Nāgas, among which the famous *Trisaṃdhyā* fountain and the springs of *Ardhanārīśvara* (Nār^u) may be specially mentioned.

The *Ār^apath* which comes from the north-east, is mentioned repeatedly in the *Nilamata* by its ancient name of *Harṣapathā*.⁵ The

¹ Compare *Rājāt*. v. 24 note.

² This version is found in the *Vitastāmāhātmya*, ii. 37, *sqq.*, which calls the place *Vitastāvartikā*; see also VIGNE, i. p. 335.

³ See *Rājāt*. i. 102 note.

⁴ *Rājāt*. i. 28. I am unable to account for the mention made in the *Mahābh.* iii. lxxxii. 90 of the Takṣaka Nāga in Kaśmīr as the Vitastā, *i.e.*, its source. No such distinction is claimed for the well-known Takṣaka spring near Zevan (Jayavana); see *Rājāt*. i. 220. The author of the *Tīrthayātrā* in the *Mahābh.* shows no accurate knowledge of Kaśmīr and seems to have made a mistake here.

⁵ See *Nilamata*, 232, 1299, etc.

valley it drains is known as the Kōṭhēr Pargaṇa and takes its name from the sacred tank of *Kapaṭeśvara*. At the western end of the spur on the slope of which this Tīrtha is situated, issue the magnificent springs of Ach^abal (Akṣavāla). They form a small stream by themselves, which flows into the Harṣapathā. A short distance below the village of Khan^abal (map 'Kanbal') where the three streams hitherto mentioned unite, their waters are joined from the north by those of the Lid^ar.

This river, the ancient *Ledarī*,¹ receives a number of glacier-fed streams which drain the high range towards the Upper Sind Valley. It is hence in volume more considerable than any of the previously named affluents. The Ledarī spreads in several branches through the wide valley forming the Pargaṇas of Dachūnpōr and Khōvurpōr which take their names, 'Right Bank' and 'Left Bank,' respectively, from their position relative to this river. In old days a canal constructed on the hill-side to the east carried the water of the Ledarī, and with it fertility, to the barren plateau of Mārtāṇḍa or Maṭan.²

63. At Khan^abal the Vitastā becomes navigable and continues so on its whole course through the valley. There too the great flat plain begins which stretches on both sides of the river down to Bārāmūla in the north-west. In its course to the Volur lake, a direct distance of about 54 miles, the river falls only some 220 feet.³ The slope in the general level of the plain is equally gentle. The bed of the river lies everywhere in the alluvial soil, the result of the deposition of sediment at flood times when the river overflows its banks. Down to Śrinagar the river keeps in a single bed and its islands are but small, in fact mere temporary sandbanks. The course is in parts very winding. But as far we can judge from the position of the old sites along the river, no great changes are likely to have taken place in historical times in this portion of the river's course.

When the river is low as during the winter, the banks rise on an average about 15 feet above the water. But in the spring when the snow melts, the great volume of water brought down from the mountains rises to the top of the banks and often overflows it. Dangerous floods may also follow long and heavy summer-rains, and sometimes

¹ See *Rājat.* i. 87.

² The construction of this canal by Zainu-l-'ābidīn is described at length by *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.) 1232-60. It is probable that there existed earlier irrigation works on the same plateau. See below, § 111.

³ See DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 163.

cause immense damage to the crops over a great portion of the cultivated area of the Valley.¹

Such floods and the famines which are likely to follow, were a danger well-known in old times already and are more than once mentioned by Kalhaṇa.² Against them the villages and riverside towns have always endeavoured to protect themselves by artificially raising the banks. The allusions found in the Chronicle suffice to show that the construction of embankments (*setu*, now *suth*), with the accompanying system of floodgates closing lateral drainage channels, has existed since ancient times.³ One great regulation scheme which was directly designed to diminish these risks, and of which we possess a detailed historical account, will be discussed below. The equally elaborate system by which water was secured for the irrigation of the otherwise dry alluvial flats along the river, will also be specially noticed.

The navigable waters of the Vitastā have from ancient times to the present day formed the most important highway of Kāsmīr. The value of the river and of the numerous canals, lakes, and streams which are also accessible to boats, for the development of internal trade and traffic can hardly be overestimated. Until a couple of years ago there were nowhere in Kāsmīr, not even in the flattest parts of the Valley, roads fit for wheeled traffic. Carriages were practically things unknown to the population bred in the Valley. As long as the communication with the outer world was restricted to difficult bridle-paths or tracks passable only for load-carrying Coolies, the construction of such roads would have been, in fact, of very slight advantage. The importance of river-traffic in Kāsmīr may be estimated from the fact that the number of boatmen engaged in it (and their families) amounted according to the census of 1891 to nearly 34,000.⁴ That boats were in old days, just as up to the present time, the ordinary means of travel in the Valley, is shown by the frequent references to river journeys in the Chronicles.⁵

Equally eloquent testimony to the historical importance of river navigation in Kāsmīr is borne by the position of the ancient sites. We

¹ Compare for data as to modern floods, LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 205 *sqq.*

² See *Rājāt.* vii. 1219; viii. 2449, 2786; also vii. 1624; viii. 1417, 1422; *Jonar.* 403 *sqq.*

³ See *Rājāt.* i. 159; iii. 483; v. 91, 103, 120; viii. 2380, etc.; *Jonar.* 404, 887; *Śrīv.* iii. 191 *sq.*, etc.

⁴ Compare regarding the *Hānzī* of Kāsmīr, LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 313; also *Rājāt.* v. 101 note.

⁵ See *Rājāt.* v. 84; vii. 347, 714, 1628, etc.

shall see that all the towns which from time to time were the capitals of the country, were built on the banks of the Vitastā, and that the great majority of other important places of ancient date were similarly situated. It is certain that then as now all produce of the country was brought to the great centres by water. Villages even when situated at a great distance, had, no doubt, just as at the present day, their landing places (Kś. *yār^abal*) on the river or the nearest navigable waterway. Kalhaṇa's description of the semi-legendary city of *Narapura* shows how closely the busy "coming and going of ships" was connected in the Kaśmīrian mind with the splendour of a large town.¹

64. After these general remarks we may now proceed to follow the Vitastā's course through the Valley noticing its tributaries in due order as we reach the confluences. Below Khan^abal² the river receives in succession the several branches of the Ledarī and then passes the ancient town and Tirtha of Vijayeśvara, the present Vij^abrōr. About a mile lower down, its course lies between high alluvial plateaus or Karēwas. One on the left bank, the Tsak^adar Uḍar, will be noticed below as one of the most ancient sites of the Valley (Cakradhara).

About three miles further down and not far from the village of Marhōm (the old *Maḍavāśrama*), the Vitastā
The Gambhīrā. is joined by the Veśau and Rembyār^a Rivers which meet a short distance above their common confluence with the Vitastā. This river junction is known to the Māhātmyas by the name of GAMBHĪRASAMGAMA ('the deep confluence') and is still visited as a Tirtha.³ The short united course of the Veśau and Rembyār^a bears the old name of GAMBHĪRĀ and is referred to under this designation repeatedly by Kalhaṇa. The Gambhīrā is too deep to be forded at any time of the year, and being on the route from Vijayeśvara to Śrīnagar, is of military importance. It was twice the scene of decisive actions. King Sussala's army on its retreat over the Gambhīrā (A.D. 1122) suffered a complete rout. Six years later Sujji, his son's general, gained an equally signal victory by forcing the passage in the face of a rebel army.⁴

¹ See *Rājat.* i. 201 sq.

² According to a gloss on *Nīlamata* 1307, Khan^abal, the port, so to say, of Anantnāg corresponds to the Khaṇḍapuccha Nāga of that text. This Nāga is elsewhere mentioned, but I have no distinct evidence for its identification.

³ See *Rājat.* iv. 80 note. Junctions of rivers and streams (*saṃgamas*) are everywhere in India favourite places for Tīrthas.

⁴ See *Rājat.* viii. 1063 sqq., 1497 sqq.

The Veśau, frequently mentioned by its ancient name of Viśokā in the Chronicles, the Nīlamata and other texts,¹ is a considerable river. It receives all the streams coming from the northern slope of the Pīr Pant̥sāl Range between the Sidau and Bān^ahāl Passes. Its traditional source is placed in the Kramasaras or Kōns^ar Nāg Lake below the Peak of Naubandhana. The Nīlamata, 271 *sqq.* relates a legend which identifies the Viśokā with Lakṣmī and accounts for its name ('free from pain'). The fine waterfall which is formed by the stream of the Kōns^ar Nāg not far from the village of Sidau, is now known as *Ahr^abal*. The Nīlamata calls it *Ākhor bila* 'the mousehole,' which may possibly be the origin of the modern name.² As soon as the Viśokā emerges from the mountains, numerous irrigation canals are drawn from it which overspread the whole of the old Pargaṇas of *Karāla* (Āḍ^avin) and *Devusarasa* (Div^asar).

One of these canals is the *Sun^amaṇi Kul* which is mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī by its ancient name of SUVARṆAMAṆIKULYĀ.³ If the story of its construction by King Suvarṇa, reproduced from Padmamahira, could be trusted, we should have to ascribe to this canal a high antiquity. It leaves the Viśokā near the village shown as 'Largoo' on the map and rejoins it near the village of Āḍ^avin (map 'Arwin'). Another old canal, called *Nāndī* (not shown on the map), leaves the Viśokā near Kaimuh, the ancient Katimuṣa, and irrigates the land between the lower course of this river and the Vitastā. Its name is connected perhaps with that of the village *Nandaka* which is referred to in connection with Avantivarman's drainage operations.⁴ The Viśokā is navigable up to Kaimuh.

The *Rembyār^a* which joins the Viśokā a little above Gambhīra-saṅgama, we have met already before as the river uniting the streams from the Pīr Pant̥sāl and Rūprī Passes. Kalhaṇa mentions it by its ancient name RAMAṆYĀṬAVĪ when relating the legend of the burned city of Narapura.⁵ The *Rembyār^a* after leaving the mountains below Hūr^apōr flows divided in many channels within a wide and mostly dry bed of rubble and boulders. This strip of stony waste along the river attains a width of over two miles near the village of Tsūran (map 'Charran').

The local legend referred to attributes the creation of this waste to

¹ See *Rājat.* iv. 5 note.

² Compare *Nīlamata*, 271 *sqq.*, and for *Ākhor bila*, 283.

³ See *Rājat.* i. 97.

⁴ See *Rājat.* v. 85 note.

⁵ See *Rājat.* i. 263-265, note.

the Nāgī Ramanyā. She had come down from the mountains carrying masses of stone to assist her brother, the Suśravas Nāga, in the destruction of Narapura. When she learnt that he had already completed his task, she dropped the stones 'more than a Yojana' from the site of the doomed city. The distance indicated corresponds exactly to that of the village of Lit^ar where the Rembyār^a leaves behind its stony bed and passes into alluvial soil. The village land for five Yojanas above that place was buried by the mighty boulders which Ramanyā left along her trail. Similar tales regarding the origin of stone-wastes ("Murren") are well-known to European alpine folk-lore.

65. Below Gambhīrasaṅgama the Vitastā receives from the right the stream which drains the ancient district of Holadā, the present Vular. It then passes close to the foot of the Vastarvan spur, near the old town of Avantipura. No important stream joins the river from the right until we reach Śrīnagar. The affluents on the left like the Rāmuṣa are also of small volume. Some do not reach the river direct but end in low marshes, communicating with the latter only by gates made in the river embankments. Of the ancient sites situated along the river, the town of PADMAPURA, the present Pāmpar, is the most considerable. As we approach Śrīnagar we pass the site of the ancient capital, PURĀṆĀDHIṢṬHĀNA, marked by the present village of Pāndrēthan. It lies between the right river bank and the southern foot of the ridge which encircles the Ḍal. For the streams we have next to notice, a reference to the special map of Ancient Śrīnagara is necessary.

Just before we reach the area of the city proper, the Vitastā is joined by a stream which drains the lake to the east of the city. This lake, known as *Ḍal* (Skr. *Ḍala*), is fed by plentiful springs and by streams which reach it from the north. Its surplus waters flow out towards the Vitastā by a canal which is now called *Tsūṇṭh Kul*, but in ancient times bore the name of MAHĀSARIT.¹ This canal passes through an ancient embankment (*setu*) which protects the city as well as the low shores of the Ḍal from floods of the river, and already figures in the traditional account of the foundation of Śrīnagar. The position of the gate which closes the outflow of the Mahāsarit is marked on the map by the entry 'Durgāgalikā.'

A small channel from the river—whether artificial or natural cannot

¹ For the identification of the Tsūṇṭh Kul and the Mār canal in the city with the *Mahāsarit*, my note on Rājat. iii. 339-349 should be consulted. In addition to the evidence there recorded, it should be noted that the Mahāsarit is twice mentioned by its old name also in the *Sarvāvatāra* iii. 74; iv. 129 sq.

be ascertained now—joins the Mahāsarit at this very point and turns the ground between it and the river into an island. This is now known by the name of Māy²sum, derived from the ancient MĀKṢIKASVĀMIN. We shall have to refer to it again in our account of the topography of Śrīnagar. From Durgāgalikā downwards the Mahāsarit or Tsūṇṭh Kul was in old times the south-eastern boundary for that part of Śrīnagar which lies on the right bank of the Vitastā. Being a natural line of defence it is frequently referred to in the narrative of the various sieges of the capital.¹

The confluence of the Mahāsarit and Vitastā which is just opposite to the modern palace, the Shērgarhi, has been a Tīrtha from early times and is mentioned by its correct name in Maṅkha's description of Kaśmīr.² Śrīvara refers to it by a more modern name, *Mārīsaṅgama*, where *Mārī* is an evident adaptation from the Kś. form *Mār*.³ The latter name, itself a derivative of Mahāsarit, is applied at the present day to another branch of the Ḍal outflow. This turning to the west passes through the marsh known as Brāṇ⁴nambal (*Bhattāraṇaḍvalā*) and then enters the city.

This canal is of considerable importance for the internal traffic of the city as it opens a convenient waterway to the Ḍal and greatly facilitates the transport of its manifold produce.⁴ After passing behind the whole of the city quarters on the right river-bank the Mār issues near the quarter of Narvor (Skr. *Naḍavana*) into the marshes of the Anchīār. Through the latter a connection is thus secured with the Sind river delta. This extension of the Mār to the west seems, however, of later date, as Śrīvara attributes the construction of a navigable channel towards the Sind to Zainu-l-'ābidīn.⁵

66. The lake which supplies the water of the Mahāsarit, is in some respects one of the most favoured spots of the whole Valley. Its limpid water, the imposing aspect of the mountain amphitheatre which encloses it on three sides, and the charming gardens and orchards around it have made the Ḍal justly famous.

¹ See *Rājat.* viii. 733, 753, 3131.

² See *Śrīkaṇṭha*. iii. 24, *Mahāsaridvitastayoḥ ... saṅgamaḥ*. Here too as in former translations of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Mahāsarit has been wrongly taken as a common noun and explained as 'great river.'

³ The term *Mārī* is also elsewhere used in the later Chronicles and the *Māhātmyas*; comp., e.g., *Śrīv.* i. 442; iv. 298; Fourth Chron. 145, etc.

⁴ It is this narrow canal, more picturesque than sweet-smelling, which has led to the frequent comparisons of Śrīnagar with Venice. It has not received much attention in recent years and for want of dredging seems in danger of silting up.

⁵ See *Śrīv.* i. 440 sq.

The Dal measures about four miles in length and two and a half in width where it is broadest. Its depth nowhere exceeds 30 feet, and in most parts it is far more shallow. At its southern end it is fringed by lagoons, and a great portion of it is covered by the famous floating gardens. Notwithstanding the superabundance of water-plants and vegetable matter, the water everywhere retains an admirable clearness and freshness. This is, no doubt, due to the ampleness of the springs which rise within the lake. Though we find no direct mention of the lake in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, and though it does not claim any particular sanctity, there is no want around its shores of ancient and holy sites.

The earliest reference to the lake itself occurs in the Chronicle of Śrīvara who describes at length how King Zainu-l-‘ābidīn diverted himself on the lake and adorned its vicinity.¹ Śrīvara calls the lake DALA, while the few Māhātmyas which condescend to mention it, use the form *Dala*.² He also mentions the two small artificial islands called *Laṅkā*, and now distinguished as *Rup^alāṅk* and *Sun^alāṅk* (‘the Silver Laṅkā,’ ‘Golden Laṅkā’). Different names are given to several distinct portions of the lake. But of these only HASTAVĀLIKA, the present Astāvöl, can be traced in the Chronicles.

The sacred sites of Gopādrī, Jyeṣṭheśvara, Thedā, Śureśvarī, etc., with their numerous Nāgas line the eastern shores of the Dal. They will be mentioned below in the description of the vicinity of the capital. The well-known gardens of Shālimār, Nishāt and Nasīm are creations of the Mughal Emperors who did much to enhance the natural beauties of the lake.

Besides the springs of the lake itself the latter is fed also by a stream which comes from the Mār Sar lake, high up in the mountains to the east. The old name of this stream, marked ‘Arrah’ on the map, is uncertain. The Śarvāvatāra seems to extend to it the name *Mahāsarit*.³ In its lower course where it approaches the north shore of the Dal, it now bears the name of Tēlbal Nāl (stream). An earlier form is furnished by Śrīvara who calls the stream at this point, by the name of TILAPRASTHĀ; the latter is also found in several Māhātmyas.⁴

67. From the junction with the Mahāsarit downwards the Vitastā flows for over three miles between almost unbroken lines of houses raised high above the water on stone embankments. The latter consist now-a-days chiefly of large blocks of stone which belonged to ancient

¹ Śrīv. i. 418 sqq.

² See, e.g., *Vitastāmāh*, xxi. 39.

³ See *Śarvāv*. iii. 75; iv. 129.

⁴ See *Śrīv*. i. 421; *Śarvāv*. iv. sqq., etc.

temples and other structures of pre-Muhammadan date. Judging from their size and careful carving we can well picture to our mind the splendid appearance which the river-banks must have here presented in bygone days.

The river within the city flows first in one long reach due north.

The Kṣiptikā.

Near the fourth bridge in the heart of the city, it makes a great bend and turns to the south-west. A canal which leaves the left bank of the river between the Shērgarhi palace and the quarter of Kāṭhūl (Kāṣṭhīla), and rejoins the river near the last bridge, allows boats to cut this great bend. It now bears the name Kuṭṣ²kul, derived from the ancient designation of KṢIPTIKĀKULYĀ.¹ The Kṣiptikā is often mentioned in the later portions of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle which relate the sieges of Śrīnagar witnessed in his own time. It forms to this day the natural line of defence for that part of the city which occupies the left river-bank, and which could be successfully attacked only by crossing the Kṣiptikā.² No information is available to us as to the origin of this canal. Judging from its position it is likely to have been a natural side-channel of the river which was subsequently maintained or improved for the convenience of navigation.

A few hundred yards lower down the Vitastā is joined on its left

The Dugdhagaṅgā.

bank by a considerable river now known as the Dūlgagaṅgā, 'the milk Gaṅgā,' or Chats²kul, 'the white stream.' Its ancient name is given as Dugdhasindhu in Bilhaṇa's description of Śrīnagar.³ The Māhātmyas know it by the name of Śvetagaṅgā, 'the white Gaṅgā,' to which the alternative modern designation, Chats²kul, exactly corresponds.⁴ Its waters come from the central part of the Pīr Pant²sāl Range round Mount Tatakūṭī, its chief sources being the mountain-streams marked as 'Sangsofed' (Sangsafēd) and 'Yechara' on the map. The confluence of the Vitastā and Dūdgagaṅgā, opposite to the old quarter of Diddāmaṭha, is still a Tīrtha of some repute and is probably alluded to already by Bilhaṇa.⁵

¹ Kś. *kul* < Skr. *kulyā* is the ordinary term for small streams or canals.

² For detailed evidence of this identification, see *Rājat.* viii. 732 note.

³ *Vikramāṅkac.* xviii. 7.

⁴ See *Vitastāmāh.* xxii; *Śvetagaṅgāmāh.*, etc. Skr. *śveta* becomes in Kś. by regular phonetic conversion *chuth*, fem. *chats²*.

The Nīlamata curiously enough does not mention the Dūdgagaṅgā unless it is meant by *Kṣīranadī*, 1281. The latter name, meaning 'the river of milk,' is given to the Dūdgagaṅgā by a passage of the modern *Vitastāmāhātmya*, xxii.

⁵ See *Vikram.* xviii. 22.

SECTION VI.—LOWER COURSE OF THE VITASTĀ.

68. Immediately below S'rinagar we come to marshes which stretch along both sides of the river for a considerable distance. Those on the left bank, of which the Hukh^asar and Pañzⁱnōr Nambal are the nearest, are fed by mountain-streams of smaller volume. The marshes to the north of the river are more extensive and belong to the Delta of the Sind River, the greatest tributary of the Vitastā within the Valley.

Our survey of the northern range of mountains has already taken us to the true headwaters of the Sind near the
The Sindhu. Zōji-Lā and the Āmburnāth Peak. Its traditional source in the sacred Gaṅgā-lake on Mount Haramukh has also been noticed. This great river has a course of over sixty miles and drains the largest and highest portion of the mountain-chain in the north. Its ancient name, SINDHU, means simply 'the river' and is thus identical with the original designation of the Indus.¹ The Rājatarāṅgiṇī mentions the river repeatedly, and it figures largely in the Nilamata, Haracaritacintāmaṇi and the Māhātmyas.² Everywhere it is identified with the Gaṅgā, as already by Albērūnī's informants. The valley of the Sind forms the district of Lār, the ancient Lahara, one of the main subdivisions of Kaśmīr territory.

Where this valley debouches into the great Kaśmīr plain, near the village of Dud^arhōm, the old *Dugd^hāśrama*, the river spreads out in numerous branches. These form an extensive Delta, covered in its greatest portion by shallow marshes and known as *Anchⁱār*. Its eastern side extends along the strip of high ground which connects S'rinagar with the foot of the spur at the mouth of the Sind Valley. The western

¹ It is customary in Kaśmīr to distinguish the two rivers by giving the designation of 'the Great Sind (Buḍ Sind),' to the Indus. This is found as '*Brhatsindhu*,' already in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi, xii. 45.

The identity of the two river names has led to a great deal of confusion in geographical works down to the beginning of the present century. The Sind River of Kaśmīr was elevated to the rank of one of the chief sources of the Indus, or else represented as a branch of the great river taking its way through Kaśmīr (!). This curious error is traceable, e.g., in the map of 'L'Empire du Grand Mogol' reproduced in Bernier's *Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 238, from the Paris Edition of 1670, and in the map of Ancient India attached to TIEFFENTHALER, *Description de l'Inde*, 1786, p. 60. Compare HÜGEL, *Kaschmir*, i. p. 330. Even WILSON, writing in 1825, says of the Kaśmīr Sind that "it is not improbably a branch of the Indus."

² See *Rājat.* i. 57 note; also iv. 391; v. 97 sqq.; viii. 1129; *Jonar.* 982; *S'riv.* iv. 110, 227, etc.

side of the delta is marked by an alluvial plateau which continues the right or western side of the lower Sind Valley down to the river's confluence with the Vitastā. The base of the triangle is the Vitastā itself which between Śrīnagar and this junction flows in a bed separated by artificial banks from the marshes on either side. The waters of the Sind after spreading over this wide Delta leave it in a single channel at its western extremity, opposite to the village of *Shādīpūr*.

The confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu has from early times enjoyed exceptional sanctity as a Tīrtha. Kaśmīr tradition, as recorded already in the *Nilamata*, identifies the Vitastā and Sindhu, the largest and holiest rivers of the country, with the *Yamunā* and *Gaṅgā*, respectively. Their junction represents, therefore, the Kaśmīrian equivalent of the famous *Prayāga* at the confluence of the great Indian rivers. The *VITASTĀSINDHUSAMGAMA* is often referred to as an important Tīrtha in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the *Nilamata* and numerous other texts. It is actually known by the name of *PRAYĀGA* to the modern tradition and the *Māhātmyas*.¹ A small island built of solid masonry rises in the river-bed at the point where the waters of the two rivers mingle. It is the object of regular pilgrimages on particular Parvans throughout the year. On it stands an old Cinār tree which to the pious Kaśmīrian represents the far-famed *Ficus Indica* tree of the real *Prayāga*.

Notwithstanding the accumulated holiness of this Tīrtha there is most explicit evidence to show that its present position dates back only to about a thousand years. We owe the knowledge of this interesting fact to the detailed account which Kalhaṇa has given us of the great regulation of the Vitastā carried out under King Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883). As the change in the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu forms one of the most striking results of this regulation, Kalhaṇa's account of the latter may conveniently be noticed in the present place. I shall restrict myself to an indication of the main facts connected with these operations, referring for all detailed evidence to Note I (v. 97-100) of my translation.

69. Kalhaṇa tells us in his opening notice² that the produce of Kaśmīr had in earlier times been greatly restricted owing to disastrous floods, particularly from the Mahāpadma or Volur lake, and the general water-locked condition of the country. Drainage operations

¹ For a detailed account of the references to the Vitastā-Sindhusamgama and the ancient remains near it, see Note I (*Rājat.* v. 97-100), §§ 14, 15; also note iv. 391.

² See *Rājat.* v. 68 sqq.

under King Lalitāditya had led to an increase of agricultural produce. But these works were apparently neglected under his feeble successors, and disastrous floods, followed by famines, became again frequent. In Avantivarman's time *Suyya*, a man of conspicuous talents but low origin, offered to remedy these troubles. Receiving the king's assent for his scheme and the necessary means, he set about regulating the course of the Vitastā with a view to a better drainage of the whole Valley. Omitting legendary details with which evidently popular tradition has embellished *Suyya's* story, the course adopted was briefly the following.

The operations commenced in Kramarājya at the locality called YAKṢADARA where large "rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river banks," obstructed the Vitastā.¹ We have already when describing the Vitastā Valley route, referred to Yakṣadara, the present Dyār²gul, as a spur projecting into the river-bed some three miles below the commencement of the Bārāmūla gorge. Its rocky foot forms the first rapid of the river. By removing the obstructing rocks the level of the river was lowered. Then a stone-dam was constructed across the bed of the river, and the latter thus blocked up completely for seven days. During this time "the river-bed was cleared at the bottom, and stone walls constructed to protect it against rocks which might roll down."² The dam was then removed, and the river flowed forth with increased rapidity through the cleared passage.

I must leave it to competent engineering opinion to decide to what extent and at which point of the Bārāmūla gorge the operations so far described were practicable with the technical means of that age. What follows in Kalhaṇa's account is so matter-of-fact and so accurate in topographical points, that a presumption is raised as to the previous statements also resting, partially at least, on historical facts.

Wherever inundation breaches were known to occur in times of flood, new beds were constructed for the river. One of these changes in the river-bed affected the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu, and this is specially explained to us in v. 97-100. The topographical indications here given by Kalhaṇa are so detailed and exact that they enabled me to trace with great probability what I believe to have been the main course of the Vitastā before *Suyya's* regulation.

70. Kalhaṇa describes to us successively the position of the old and
 Change of confluence the new confluence relative to certain temples
 of Vitastā and situated at the village of Trigrāmī and other
 Sindhu. points on the river-banks. Most of these struc-
 tures I have been able to identify, and a close examination of the

¹ See v. 87 *sqq.*

² Compare v. 92 *sq.*

general topographical features in their neighbourhood has fully borne out the correctness of Kalhana's account. Without the help of a larger-scale map it would, however, be impossible to explain here accurately the topographical evidence collected.¹ I must, therefore, once more refer to the above-quoted detailed note in my forthcoming work, where a special map, on the scale of one inch to the mile, has been inserted for the illustration of this tract. In the present place I must restrict myself to indicating the main results of my enquiries.

These have shown that while the new confluence which Kalhana knew in his own time, is identical with the present junction opposite Shāḍīpūr,² the old one lay about two miles to the south-east of it, between the village of Trigām and the Parāspōr plateau. The latter is the site of the great ruins of *Parihāsapura*, first identified by me and shown on the map (see below, § 121.) Trigām marks the position of the ancient *Trigrāmī*, and a short distance south of it stands the temple ruin which I identify with the shrine of Viṣṇu *Vaiṇyasvāmin*.

Kalhana mentions this temple as the point near which "the two rivers, the Sindhu and Vitastā, formerly met flowing to the left and right of Trigrāmī, respectively." Standing on the raised ground before the ruin and turning towards Shāḍīpūr, we have on our left a narrow swamp about a quarter of a mile broad which runs north-east in the direction of Trigām. In this swamp and a shallow *Nāla* continuing it towards Shāḍīpūr, we can yet recognize the old bed of the Sindhu. On the right we have the *Badrihēl Nāla* which divides the alluvial plateau of Trigām and Parāspōr. This *Nāla* is clearly marked as an old river-bed by the formation of its banks and is still known as such to the villagers of the neighbourhood.

The *Badrihēl Nāla* connects the great swamp to the east known as *Pañzīnōr Nambal* with the extensive marshes stretching west and north-west of Parāspōr towards the Volur. This channel still serves regularly as an outflow for the *Pañzīnōr Nambal* whenever the latter is flooded from the Vitastā at times of high-water. Were it not for the great embankments which guard the bed of the Vitastā towards the low *Pañzīnōr Nambal*, the latter would still form a regular course of the

¹ In the copies of the map accompanying this memoir the faint outlines by which the engraved Atlas of India sheet marks the low alluvial plateaus, the marshes, and similar features of this tract, have become much effaced. A reference to the original groundmap or the larger Survey map (2 miles to the inch) is hence recommended.

² Shāḍīpūr is a modern contraction for *Shahābuddīnpūr*, the name given to the place by Sultān *Shahābu-d-dīn* (A.D. 1354-73) who founded it, as Jonarāja, 409, tells us, at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu.

river. Even so it is still liable to be invaded by the Vitastā at times of flood. For the swamp as well as the fertile village lands reclaimed around it, lie below the level of the river-bed.¹

The old course of the rivers here briefly indicated explains the curious position of the Nōr (map 'Noroo'). This canal which is of importance for navigation leaves the Vitastā on the left bank just opposite to the present junction with the Sindhu and practically continues the southwesterly course of the latter for some distance. Only about $\frac{1}{3}$ mile of low ground divides the Nōr from the end of the swamp which marks the bed of the Sindhu at the point of its old junction opposite the Vainyasvāmin ruin.

Similarly the position of *Parihāsapura* which King Lalitāditya chose for his splendid capital, becomes now intelligible. The plateau or Karēwa of Par^aspōr which still preserves its name is now flanked on the east by the Pañzⁱnōr Nambal and on the west by the marshes of Hār^atrath. Neither of them affords in their present condition the convenient waterway we find invariably near all other Kaśmīr capitals. Before Suyya's regulation, however, the Vitastā flowed as we have seen, immediatly to the north of the plateau and at the very foot of the great temples erected here by King Lalitāditya.

71. The object and result of the change of the confluence can, I think, also be traced yet. By forcing the
Results of Suyya's regulation. Vitastā to pass north of Trigām instead of south of it, the reclamation of the marshes south of the Volur lake must have been greatly facilitated. The course thus given to the river carries its waters by the nearest way into that part of the Volur which by its depth and well-defined boundaries is naturally designed as a great reservoir to receive the surplus water of dangerous floods. The southern shores of the lake are still to this day the scene of a constant struggle between the cultivator and floods. The reclamation of land which has gone on for centuries in these low marshy tracts,² could never have been undertaken if the Vitastā had been allowed to spread itself over them from the south, the direction marked by its old course.

The change in the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu was a necessary condition for the subsequent course given to the united rivers. It

¹ See LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp, 210 sq. Kālhana's account shows that the huge embankments guarding the Pañzⁱnōr tract must be far older than the times of the Mughals to which they are popularly attributed.

² Compare DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 116, for a description of these tracts and the amphibious ways of the inhabitants who get their living as much from the water as the land around.

was thus closely connected with the general scheme of regulation and drainage. Kalhana indicates this by referring immediately after the above passage to stone-embankments constructed along the Vitastā for seven Yojanas (circ. 42 miles) and the damming-in of the Volur lake.¹

On the land reclaimed new populous villages were founded. From the circular dykes which were built around these villages, they are said to have received the popular designation of *kuṇḍala*, 'ring.' We actually still find two villages on the low ground near the Volur showing in their modern names the ending *kuṇḍal*, derived from Skr. *kuṇḍala*. *Uṭṣ^akuṇḍal* (map wrongly 'Watr koondl') and *Mar^akuṇḍal* are situated both close to the left bank of the Vitastā before it enters the marshes at the south-eastern end of the Volur. Their names and position seem to support the assumption that the present northerly course of the river above Trigrāmī and *Shādīpūr* is directly due to Suyya's operations.

Kalhana adds that even in his own time, i.e., two and a half centuries later, there were "seen, growing on the banks of the former river-beds, old trees which bore the marks of the boat ropes fastened to them."² Similarly the observant Chronicler noted the old pales securing the embankments "which the rivers displayed when low in the autumn."³ We must be grateful to him for the evident interest with which he ascertained and recorded the details of Avantivarman's operations. For he has thus enabled us even at the present day to trace some of the important changes then effected in the hydrography of the whole Valley.

72. Following the course of the Vitastā below its present confluence with the Sindhu we soon pass the village of *Sambal* where the route from *Srinagar* to the north of the Volur lake and thence to the *Trāgabal* Pass, crosses the river. Here at some distance from the left bank is the site of the ancient *Jayapura*, the capital founded by King *Jayāpīḍa* in the second half of the eighth century.⁴ It is marked by the village of *Andarkōṭh* situated on an island between the *Sambal* marsh and a branch of the canal known as *Nōr*. An ancient causeway connects the island with the strip of land separating the marsh from the present course of the Vitastā.

¹ See v. 103 *sqq.*

² v. 101.

³ It is still the common belief in *Kāśmīr* that "no embankment on the riverside is sound unless it has a foundation of piles"; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 211. Considering the peaty nature of the soil along the lower course of the river, this belief may be justified by old experience.

⁴ See for the identification of this site, *Rājat.* v. 506 note, and below, § 122.

We should have some difficulty in understanding the position chosen for a town which was intended to be a place of importance if we did not know the great change effected in the course of the river by the subsequent regulation of Avantivarman. In King Jayāpīḍa's time one of the main branches of the Vitastā probably followed the line of the Nōr in this neighbourhood. The island of And²rkōṭh which forms a small alluvial plateau, raised perhaps artificially in parts, was then a convenient site. This is no longer the case since the river flows to the east of And²rkōṭh and at a considerable distance. We can safely attribute to this change the fact that Jayapura like the similarly situated Parilhāsapura had fallen into insignificance already before Kalhaṇa's time.

Close to Sāmbal the river passes the foot of an isolated hill known as *Āh²tyung*, rising about a thousand feet above the plain. Under its shelter on the north is the small lake of *Mānasbal* which is mentioned by the name of *Mānasa[saras]* in the Nīlamata and by Jonarāja.¹ It is about two miles long, and occupying a rock-basin is deeper than the other lakes of the Kāśmīr plains. It is connected with the river by a short channel and partially fed by an irrigation canal carried into it from the Sind River.² Its ancient name is derived from the sacred lake on Kailāsa, famous in the Purāṇas and Epics and usually located in the Mansarōvar of the Tibetan highlands.

A short distance lower down the villages of Ut²s²kuṇḍ²al and Mar²-kuṇḍ²al already referred to above, are passed on the left bank. There are various indications which make it probable that in old times the Volur lake reached much closer to these villages than it does at present. Kalhaṇa's reference seems to indicate that these villages enclosed by circular dykes were actually reclaimed from the lake, and Jonarāja still places them on the very shore of the lake.³ In the same way Śrīvara speaking of the villages stretching from Samudrakōṭa,⁴ the present Sud²rkōṭh, to the vicinity of Dvārikā, near And²rkōṭh, seems to place them along the shore of the Volur.

A glance at the map shows that the land on the left bank of the river below the 'Kunḍala' villages projects like a peninsula into the lake.

¹ As Jonarāja, 864 sq., makes the ancient name quite certain, the latter could have safely been shown on the map. In some passages of the Nīlamata and Māhātmyas it might be doubted whether this lake or the Uttaramānasa on Mount Haramukh is intended; see however *Nīlamata*, 1338, where the Mānasa lake is mentioned after the Vitastāsindhusaṅgama.

² The construction of this canal is ascribed by Jonarāja, 864 sq., to Zainu-l-‘ābidīn.

³ See *Rājat.* v. 120, and *Jonar.* 1230, (Bo. ed.).

⁴ See *Śrīv.* i. 400 sq.

It can be safely assumed that the creation of this strip of land which now accompanies the river-channel for some seven miles farther, is due to the continual deposits of silt. This silting-up process is still going on in this as in other portions of the Volur where streams enter it, and is likely to reduce the expanse of the lake still further in the future.¹

A striking proof for the gradual change thus effected is afforded by the position of the artificial island known now as Zain^alānk. It was constructed by King Zainu-l-‘ābidīn from whom it took its proper designation of *Jainalāṅkā*. It was then, according to Jonarāja’s description, in the middle of the Volur where the water was deep.² It is now situated in a shallow marsh close to the present embouchure of the river.

73. The great lake, with the southern shores of which we have already become acquainted, is a very important feature in the hydrographic system of

Volur lake.

Kaśmīr. It acts as a huge flood-reservoir for the greatest part of the drainage of Kaśmīr and gives to the western portion of the Valley its peculiar character. Its dimensions vary at different periods, owing to the low shores to the south being liable to inundation. In normal years the length of the lake may be reckoned at about 12 and its width at 6 miles, with an area of about 78 square miles. In years of flood the lake extends to about 13 miles in length and 8 miles in width.³ Its depth is nowhere more than about 15 feet and is continually lessening in those parts where the streams debouch into it. Notwithstanding this slight depth navigation on the lake often becomes dangerous when violent storms sweep over it from the mountains in the north. The boundaries of the lake are ill-defined in the south and partly in the east; the marshes and peaty meadows merge almost imperceptibly into the area of the lake. On the north the shores slope up towards an amphitheatre of mountains from which some rocky spurs run down to the water’s edge. The fertile tract at the foot of these mountains forms the ancient *Khūyāśrama*, the modern Pargaṇa of *Khuyāhōm*.

The ancient name of the lake is MAHĀPADMASARAS, derived from the Nāga *Mahāpadma*, who is located in the lake as its tutelary deity. This designation is by far the most common in the Chronicles, the *Nilamata*, and other old

Mahāpadma Nāga.

¹ Compare DREW, p. 166, and LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 20. The latter author is probably reproducing a popular tradition when mentioning that in King Zainu-l-‘ābidīn’s time the waters of the Volur stretched south to Aśam and Sāmbal.

² See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.) 1227 sqq. The name Jainalāṅkā was mutilated in the Calcutta edition; else it would have been shown on the map.

³ See LAWRENCE, p. 20.

texts.¹ It is also used, as we have seen, in the description of Kaśmīr given by the T'ang annals.

The name *Ullola* from which the present Volur (*vulgo* 'Woolar') seems to be derived, is found only in one passage of Jonarāja's Chronicle and in a single modern Māhātmya.² Skr. *ullola* can be interpreted to mean 'turbulent' or '[the lake] with high-going waves.'³ Those who have experienced the sensation of crossing the lake with a strong wind, will readily allow the appropriateness of this designation. Yet it is impossible to dismiss altogether the suspicion that the name which seems wholly unknown to the older texts, may be only a clever adaptation of the Kaśmīrī name Volur or its earlier representative. It is certainly curious that in modern Māhātmyas we meet with Ullola as a name for the Vulgar Pargana, the genuine ancient designation of which is Holadā.⁴ Jonarāja in his commentary on Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, iii. 9, uses Ullola as a paraphrase for Mahāpadma.

74. From an early date various legends seem to have clustered around this, the greatest of Kaśmīr lakes. The
Legends of Mahā- around this, the greatest of Kaśmīr lakes. The
padma Nāga. Nīlamata relates at length how the lake became the habitation of the Mahāpadma Nāga.⁵

Originally it was occupied by the wicked Nāga Śaḍaṅgula who used to carry off the women of the country. Nīla, the lord of Kaśmīr Nāgas, banished Śaḍaṅgula to the land of the Dārvas. The site left dry on his departure was occupied by a town called *Candrapura* under King Viśvagaśva. The Muni Durvāsas not receiving hospitable reception in this town, cursed it and foretold its destruction by water. When subsequently the Nāga Mahāpadma sought a refuge in Kaśmīr and asked Nīla for the allotment of a suitable habitation, he was granted permission to occupy Candrapura. The Mahāpadma Nāga thereupon approached King Viśvagaśva in the disguise of an old Brahman and asked to be allowed to settle in the town with his family. When his prayer was agreed to he shewed himself in his true form and announced to the King the approaching submersion of his city. At the Nāga's direction the King with his people emigrated and founded two Yojanas further west the new town of *Viśvagaśvapura*. The Nāga then converted the city into a lake, henceforth his and his family's dwelling place. A recollection of this legend still lives in popular tradition, and the ruins of the doomed city are supposed to be sighted occasionally in the water.

¹ For detailed references see *Rājat.* iv. 593 note.

² See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.) 1227-30; *Dhyāneśvaramāh.* 30, 33.

³ See BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 9.

⁴ See *Vitastāmāh.* v. 48; *Haridrāgaṇeśamāh.*

⁵ See *Nīlamata*, 976-1008, and BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 10.

Another legend has found a lengthy record in Kalhaṇa's narrative of King Jayāpīḍa's reign, iv. 592 *sqq.* The Nāga Mahāpadma being threatened with desiccation by a Dravidian sorcerer, appeared to the King in his dream and asked for protection. As a reward he promised to show a gold mine to the King. Jayāpīḍa agreed to the Nāga's prayer. Curiosity, however, induced him to let the Dravidian first try his magic on the lake. When the waters had been dried up so far that the Nāga and his dependents were seen as human-faced snakes wriggling in the mud, the king interfered and caused the lake to be restored. The Nāga, however, resented the insult and showed to the king only a rich copper ore instead of the gold mine.

With reference to a Purāṇic legend the Mahāpadma is sometimes identified with the Nāga *Kāliya* who was vanquished by Kṛṣṇa. As the foot of the god when touching the Nāga's head made lotuses (*padma*) appear on it, Mahāpadma is treated by Kaśmīrian poets as another form of Kāliya.¹

75. Of the streams which fall into the Volur lake besides the Vitastā, the stream of the *Baṇḍāpōr* Nāla is the most considerable. It drains the range between Mount Haramukh and the Trāgabal Pass and forms a small Delta of its own to the north of the lake. Its ancient name is *Madhumatī*.² It is repeatedly mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in connection with the route leading to the Dard territory, but must be distinguished from another, smaller Madhumatī which flows into the Kiṣāṅgā near the Sāradātīrtha.

The outflow of the lake's waters is at its southwest corner about two miles above the town of Sōpūr. The latter is the ancient *Suyyapura*, founded by Suyya and commemorating his name.³ If we may judge from the position of the town and the words used by Kalhaṇa in another passage,⁴ it appears probable that the operations of Avantivarman's great engineer extended also to the river's bed on this side of the lake.

About four miles below Sōpūr the Vitastā which now flows in a winding but well-defined bed, receives its last considerable tributary within Kaśmīr. It is the Pohur which before its junction has collected the various streams draining the extreme northwest of the Valley.

¹ Compare *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 9; *Jonar.* 933, and my note *Rājat.* v. 114.

² See *Rājat.* vii. 1179 and note 1171; also viii. 2883; *Nīlamata* 1259 *sqq.*, 1398, etc.

³ See *Rājat.* v. 118 note.

⁴ V. 104: "Trained by him, the Vitastā starts rapidly on her way from the basin of the Mahāpadma lake, like an arrow from the bow."

This portion of the country figures but little in Kalhaṇa's narrative ; hence we find in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī no reference to the Pohur or any of its affluents. The old name of the river is uncertain. Jonarāja in a passage which is found only in the Bombay edition, calls this river *Pahara* ; the Māhātmyas vary between *Prahara* and *Prahāra*.¹ Of the side-streams the Māv^{ur} (map 'Maur') flowing through the Maḥipōr Pargaṇa is named in the Nīlamata as *Māhurī*.² The name of the Hamal stream is identical with that of the Pargaṇa through which its course lies, the ancient *Samālā*.³

About 18 miles from the point where the Vitastā leaves the Volur, it reaches the entrance of the gorge of Bārāmūla. Through this defile we have already before followed the course of the river. At Bārāmūla navigation ceases. After passing with a violent current the ravine immediately below the town, the river, so placid within the Valley, turns into a large torrent rushing down in falls and rapids.

SECTION VII.—SOIL AND CLIMATE OF THE VALLEY.

76. Our survey of Kaśmīr rivers has taken us along that great flat of river alluvium which forms the lowest and most fertile part of the Valley. We must now turn to the higher ground of the Vale which consists of the peculiar plateaus already alluded to.

The genuine Kaśmīrī term for these plateaus is *uḍar*, found in its Sanskrit form as *uḍḍāra* in the Chronicles. Another modern designation of Persian origin now often used, is *karēwa*. The word *uḍḍāra* is twice found as an ending of local names in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī⁴, while the latter Chronicles use it frequently in designations of well-known plateaus.⁵ An earlier Sanskrit term no longer surviving in use, is *sūda*, originally meaning 'barren waste ground.' Kalhaṇa employs it when speaking of the well-known Dām^adar Uḍar.⁶

The Uḍars of the Kaśmīr Valleys are usually considered by geologists to be due to lacustrine deposits. They appear either isolated by

¹ See Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1150, 1152 ; *Vitastāmāh.* xxvii. 2 ; *Svayambhūmāh.*

² *Nīlamata*, 1322 sqq.

³ See *Rājat.* vii. 159 note.

⁴ *Locanodḍāra* and *Dhyānodḍāra*, *Rājat.* viii. 1427 note.

⁵ See *Gusikōḍḍāra*, the Uḍar of Gūs near Rāmuh, *Śrīv.* iv. 465, 592, 596 ; *Dāmodarodḍāra*, the Dām^adar Uḍar, *Śrīv.* iv. 618 ; *Laulapuroḍḍāra*, Fourth Chron. 175, etc.

⁶ See *Rājat.* i. 156 note.

lower ground around them or connected by very gentle slopes with spurs descending from the mountains. Often the tops of these plateaus seem almost perfectly flat, forming table lands of varying dimensions. They rise generally from 100 to 300 feet above the level of the ravines and valleys which intersect them, and through which the streams from the mountains and their own drainage find their way to the Vitastā. Most of the Uḍars are found on the south-western side of the Valley, stretching from Sūpiyaṇ to Bārāmūla. But they also occur across the river on the north-eastern side of the Valley, and at both extremities of the river-flat in the south-east and north-west.

Owing to the inferiority of the soil and the difficulty of irrigation, the Uḍars show a marked difference in point of fertility from other parts of the Valley. Those which slope down from the foot of the mountains have been brought under cultivation with the help of water-courses conducted over them from the higher ground behind. Most of these irrigation-channels are, no doubt, of ancient date, and some are specially mentioned in the Chronicles. To other Uḍars, particularly those which are entirely isolated, water could not be brought. These are either barren wastes covered with low jungle or if cultivated, yield only precarious crops owing to the uncertainty of the rainfall.

Some of the Uḍars, owing to their position near the Vitastā or for other reasons, are sites of importance in the ancient topography of Kaśmīr. Such are the plateaus of Mārtāṇḍa, Cakradhara, Padmapura, Parihāsapura. Another, the 'Uḍar of Dāmodara,' plays an interesting part in the legendary lore of the country. All these will be duly noticed in the next chapter.

77. Climatic conditions are so closely connected with a country's topography that the few old notices and references which we have regarding those of Kaśmīr, may fitly find mention here.

Kaśmīr climate.

The only distinct account of the Kaśmīr climate is given by Albērūnī.¹ He clearly indicates the reason why Kaśmīr is exempt from the heavy Monsoon rains of India proper. When the heavy clouds, he explains, reach the mountains which enclose Kaśmīr on the south, "the mountain-sides strike against them, and the clouds are pressed like olives or grapes." In consequence "the rain pours down and the rains never pass beyond the mountains. Therefore Kaśmīr has no *varṣakāla*, but continual snowfall during two and a half months, beginning with Māgha, and shortly after the middle of Caitra continual rain sets in for a few days, melting the snow and cleansing the earth. This rule has seldom an exception; however, a certain amount of extraordinary meteorological occurrences is peculiar to every province in India."

¹ See *India*, i. p. 211.

That this description is on the whole as accurate as Albērūnī's other data regarding Kaśmīr, will be easily seen by a reference to the detailed statements of Mr. LAWRENCE and Mr. ELIOT.¹ What chiefly characterizes the climate of Kaśmīr as against that of the Indian plains, is the absence of a rainy season and the equally marked absence of excessive heat. The moderate temperature of the Kaśmīr summer is ensured by the high elevation of the Valley, and has at all times been duly appreciated by its inhabitants as well as its visitors.

Kalhana already proudly claims this exemption from the torments of a fierce sun as one of the favours accorded to his country by the gods.² His enthusiastic description of a Kaśmīr summer passed "in the regions above the forests" shows that he was no stranger to the charms of that season in the alpine parts of the country.³ More than once he refers to the sufferings which the heat of an Indian summer outside the Valley inflicts on Kaśmīrian exiles. Even in the hill regions immediately to the south of Pīr Panṭsāl the hot season with its accompanying fevers has often proved disastrous to the Kaśmīrian troops employed there.⁴

On the other hand we find also the rigours of a Kaśmīr winter duly illustrated by the Chronicle's narrative. We may refer to the description of the heavy and continued snowfall which followed Sussala's murder in Phālguna of 1128 A.D., the freezing of the Vitastā in the winter of 1087-8 A.D., etc.⁵ The graphic account of Bhoja's flight to the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley shows us in full detail the difficulties which attend a winter-march over the snow-covered mountains to the north of the Valley.⁶ Nor do we fail to be reminded otherwise of the great differences in climate which are implied by the varying altitudes of Kaśmīr localities.⁷

Exceptionally early snowfall in the autumn such as saved the garrison of the frontier fort on the Dugdhaghāta Pass, has always been known and dreaded even low down in the Valley. The danger it represents for the rice crops is illustrated by Kalhana's account of the famines resulting from such premature snowfalls.⁸

¹ See LAWRENCE, p. 24 *sqq.*

² See i. 41.

³ ii. 138.

⁴ Compare vii. 970; viii. 1634, 1830, 1836, 1865; regarding the fever-season of Rājapurī and neighbouring districts, my note viii. 1873.

⁵ *Rājat.* viii. 1376 *sqq.*; 1434 *sqq.*; vii. 592.

⁶ See viii. 2710 *sqq.* It must be remembered that as much as forty to sixty feet of snow falls in a severe winter on the higher ranges around Kaśmīr; see also viii. 411.

⁷ Compare vii. 916; viii. 2511; ii. 138.

⁸ See ii. 18 *sqq.*; viii. 2449.

In this as in other respects there is nothing to suggest any material change of the climatic conditions during historical times. Kalhana, it is true, in describing the reign of Abhimanyu I., speaks of deep snow as "falling each year to cause distress to the Bauddhas" and obliging the king to pass six months of the cold season in Dārvābhisāra. But the whole story there related is nothing but a mere rechauffé of the ancient legend told in the Nīlamata of the annual migrations caused by the presence of the Piśācas. It therefore can claim no historical value whatever.¹

78. Cultivation such as appears to have been carried on in Kaśmīr since the earliest historical period, must necessarily leave its traces in the topography of a country and may hence claim a passing notice.

Rice has as far as we can go back, always been the largest and most important produce of the Valley. Its character as the main cereal is sufficiently emphasized by the fact that it is usually referred to in the Chronicles by the simple term of *dhānya* 'grain.'² The conditions of its cultivation presuppose an extensive system of irrigation, and for this the Kaśmīr Valley with its abundance of streams and springs is admirably adapted by nature. The elaborate arrangements which exist at present for taking water from the streams large and small and distributing it over all the ground capable of irrigation, will be found fully detailed in Mr. LAWRENCE'S valuable and exhaustive account of Kaśmīr agriculture.³ There is every reason to believe that they have come down with little, if any, change from a very early period.

Many of the larger irrigation channels which intersect the fertile alluvial flats, or skirt the terraced slopes of the Uḍars and mountain-sides, are shown on the map; see, *e.g.*, the tracts on the lower course of the Lidar, Veśau, Sind, and other rivers. In old times when the population was larger than now, much land which is at present allowed to lie waste on the hill-sides, on the Uḍars and in the low-lying tracts by the marshes, must have been under cultivation.⁴ I have often come across traces of old irrigation-cuts long ago abandoned, which brought down the water of the melting snows from alpine plateaus high above the forest zone. Their distance from any lands capable of rice-cultivation is so great

¹ See i. 180, and note i. 184.

² "The Kashmīrīs, so far, have considered no crop worthy of attention save rice;" LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 319.

³ See *Valley*, pp. 323 sq.

⁴ Compare *Valley*, pp. 239 and 356, as to the extensive areas which were once cultivated and are likely to be so again in future.

and the trouble of their construction must have been so considerable that only a far greater demand for irrigation than the present one can account for their existence.

In the earliest traditions recorded by Kalhana the construction of irrigation canals plays already a significant part. The *Suvarṇamanikulyā* which is ascribed to King Suvarṇa and which still brings water to a great part of the Āḍ²vin district, has already been noticed.¹ The reference to the aqueduct by which King Dāmodara is supposed to have attempted to bring water to the great Uḍar named after him, though legendary in the main, is also characteristic.² Lalitāditya is credited with having supplied villages near Cakradhara (*Tsaka³dar*) with the means of irrigation by the construction of a series of water-wheels (*araghaṭṭa*) which raised the water of the Vitastā.³

To Suyya, however, Avantivarman's engineer, is ascribed the merit of having on an extensive scale secured river-water for village-lands. From Kalhana's detailed description it is evident that Suyya's regulation of the Vitastā was accompanied by systematic arrangements for the construction of irrigation channels. For these the water of various hill-streams was utilized as well as that of the main-river. The size and distribution of the water-course for each village was fixed on a permanent basis. He is thus said "to have embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce." The increase in produce consequent on these measures and the reclamation of new lands from the river and marshes is said to have lowered the average price of a Khāri of rice from two hundred to thirty-six Dinnāras.⁴

The importance of irrigation from a revenue point of view must have always been recognized by the rulers of the country. Hence even in later times we find every respite from internal troubles marked by repairs of ancient canals or the construction of new ones. The long and peaceful reign of Zainu-l-'ābidīn which in many respects revived the traditions of the earlier Hindu rule, seems in particular to have been productive of important irrigation works. Jonarāja's and Śrīvara's Chronicles give a considerable list of canals constructed under this king.⁵ Among these the canal which distributed the water of the Pohur River over the Zain²gīr Pargana, and the one by which the

¹ See above, § 64.

² See *Rājat.* i. 156 sq. note.

³ See *Rājat.* iv. 191 note.

⁴ See *Rājat.* v. 109-112 and note.

⁵ See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.) 1141-55, 1257 sqq. ; *Śrīv.* i. 414 sqq. For repairs of old canals, see *Rājat.* viii. 2380.

water of the Lidar was conducted to the arid plateau of Mārtāṇḍa, deserve special mention. In the latter locality some work of this kind must have existed already at a far earlier period. Or else we could scarcely understand how it could have been chosen as the site for Lalitāditya's magnificent temple and the flourishing township which once surrounded it.¹

Of the other products of the Valley only two may be mentioned here, since they have from old times received special attention in all descriptions of the country. Already Kalhaṇa in his introduction designates saffron and grapes among "the things that even in heaven are difficult to find but are common there."² Saffron (*kuṅkuma*) has to the present day remained a famous product of Kāsmīr. Its cultivation has apparently from an early time specially flourished about Padmapura, the present Pāmpar, where the Uḍar lands are still chiefly utilized for it. The Fourth Chronicle describes at length the plant and its treatment. Abū-l-Faẓl mentions it also in the same locality and devotes to it a long notice.³

The grapes of Kāsmīr which Kalhaṇa mentions repeatedly,⁴ have not retained their area of cultivation with equal persistence. They must have enjoyed reputation outside Kāsmīr, because the name *Kāsmīrā* is given by Sanskrit Kośas as the designation of a special variety of grapes.⁵ They were once plentiful at Mārtāṇḍa where both Kalhaṇa and the Fourth Chronicle mention them, and at many other localities.⁶

In Akbar's time grapes were abundant in Kāsmīr and very cheap; but Abū-l-Faẓl notes that the finer qualities were rare.⁷ Since then, viticulture among the people generally has greatly declined. Though vines of remarkable size and age can still be found in many places, they are mostly wild. The produce of grapes is now restricted to a few old gardens at the mouth of the Sind Valley and to the new vineyards established on the Dal shores by the late Mahārāja for the cultivation of French vines.⁸

¹ See *Rājat.* iv. 192.

² i. 42.

³ See Fourth Chron. 926 sqq.; *Āin-i-Akb.*, i. pp. 357 sq.

⁴ *Rājat.* i. 42; iv. 192; vii. 498.

⁵ See *Böhtlingk-Roth*, s. v.

⁶ Fourth Chron. 851, 928.

⁷ *Āin-i-Akb.*, i. p. 349.

⁸ For a detailed account of Kāsmīr vineyards, see LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 351 sq.

79. It will be useful to refer here briefly to the data we possess
Old ethnography regarding the old ethnography of Kaśmīr and
of Kaśmīr. the adjacent hill regions.

As far as Kaśmīr itself is concerned our information does not allow us to connect any particular localities with ethnic divisions. Judging from Kalhana's Chronicle and what other sources of information are available to us, the population of Kaśmīr has shown already in old times the same homogeneity that it does at present. The physical and ethnic characteristics which so sharply mark off the Kaśmīrī from all surrounding races, have always struck observant visitors to the Valley and have hence often been described.¹ Hiuen Tsiang's brief sketch reproduced above is the earliest in date and yet applies closely to the modern inhabitants.

That the Kaśmīris form a branch of the race which brought the languages of the Indo-Aryan type into India, is a fact established by the evidence of their language and physical appearance. But when their settlement in the country took place, and from which direction they immigrated, are questions beyond the present range of historical research. The purity of race which has often been noted as distinguishing the great mass of the Kaśmīr population, may be admitted with a qualification. It is probably due not only to the country's natural isolation but also to a curious faculty for absorbing foreign elements. Colonies of Mughals, Paṭhāns, Panjābīs, and Pahārīs, settled within comparatively recent times in the Valley, are being amalgamated with remarkable rapidity through intermarriage and other means.

The complete absorption of these settlements which is going on
Absorption of under our own eyes as it were, furnishes a
foreign ethnic likely analogy for the ethnic history of earlier
elements. times. We have reason to assume that Kaśmīr
 has also in Hindu times been often under
 foreign rule. It is difficult to believe that the reign of foreign dynasties has not been accompanied also by settlements of immigrants of the same nationality. But it is not likely that these foreign colonies were ever extensive. In any case we find no trace of their having retained a distinct and independent existence.

Various tribal sections of the population are mentioned in Kalhana's narrative, but we have no means of deciding to what extent they were based on race or caste distinctions. The names of the *Lavanyas* and *Tantrins* survive in 'Krāms,' or tribal names, still borne by sections of

¹ For a general account of the Kaśmīrī population DREW's remarks, *Jummoo*, pp. 174 sqq., may still be recommended. Fuller details regarding the various classes, castes, etc., will be found in Mr. LAWRENCE's work, pp. 302 sqq.

the Muhammadan rural population (*Lūnⁱ* and *Tāntrⁱ*).¹ But whatever distinctions of race or caste may have originally been indicated by these 'Krāms,' they have long ago disappeared.

It is equally certain from an examination of the Chronicle that these sections were never confined to particular territorial divisions, but spread all over the Valley. The humblest of these sections is probably the one which has least changed its character during the course of centuries. The modern Dūmbas, the descendants of the old *Dombas*,² are still the low-caste watchmen and village-menials as which they figure in Kalhana's narrative. They, like the still more despised Vātals or scavengers, cannot intermarry with other Kaśmīris. They have thus retained in their appearance a distinctive type of their own which points to relationship with the gipsy-tribes of India and Europe.

It is difficult to come to any definite conclusion as regards the *Ki-li-to* whom Hiuen Tsiang mentions as a low-born race settled in Kaśmīr from early times and opposed to the Bauddhas.³ Their name, usually transcribed *Kritiya*, cannot be traced in indigenous records. There is nothing to support their identification with the *Kīras*, as suggested by General Cunningham.⁴ The latter seems to have been a tribe settled somewhere in the vicinity of Kaśmīr.⁵

80. The ethnography of the territories immediately adjoining
Races on Kaśmīr borders. Kaśmīr can be traced quite clearly from the
 notices of the *Rājatāraṅgiṇī*.

In the south and west the adjacent hill-regions were occupied by *Khaśas*. Their settlements extended, as shown by numerous passages of the Chronicle, in a wide semi-circle from *Kaṣṭavār* in the south-east to the Vitastā Valley in the west.⁶ The hill-states of Rājapuri and Lohara were held by Khaśa families; the dynasty of the latter territory succeeded to the rule of Kaśmīr in the 11th century. I have shown elsewhere that the *Khaśas* are identical with the present *Khakha* tribe to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitastā Valley below Kaśmīr and in the neighbouring hills belong. We have already seen that the

¹ Compare notes v. 248; vii. 1171.

² See *Rājat.* note iv. 475; also v. 353 *sqq.*, vi. 84, 182; vii. 964, 1133, viii. 94. These passages show that the Dombas also earned their bread as hunters, fishermen, buffoons, quacks, etc., and their daughters as singers and dancers. Their occupations thus closely resembled those of the gipsies whose name, *Rom*, is undoubtedly derived from Skr. *ḍomba*; see *P. W. s.* v.

³ See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. pp. 150, 156 *sqq.*

⁴ See *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 93.

⁵ Compare my note viii. 2767.

⁶ See *Rājat.* i. 317 note.

Khakhas have until very recent times worthily maintained the reputation which their forefathers enjoyed as marauders and turbulent hill-men.

North of the Vitastā Valley and as far as the Kiṣangaṅgā we now find the Bombas as the neighbours of the Khakhas to whom they are closely related. It is probable that the Karnāv district was held by them already in old times. Kalhaṇa seems to comprise them, viii. 3088, under the designation of Khaśa.

The upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley above S'ardi was in old days already as at present inhabited by Dards (Skr. *Darad*, *Dārada*) who are often referred to by Kalhaṇa as the neighbours of Kaśmīr on the north.¹ Their seats extended then too probably much further to the north-west, where they are now found in Citrāl, Yāsīn, Gilgit and the intervening regions towards Kaśmīr. Megasthenes already knew them in the Upper Indus regions. Kalhaṇa relating events of his own time speaks of *Mlecchas* further to the north. These might have been Muhammadanized Dards on the Indus, and beyond.²

The regions immediately to the north-east and east of Kaśmīr were held by the *Bhauṭṭas*. We have already seen that these represent the people of Tibetan descent, the modern *Butā*, of Drās, Ladākh and the neighbouring mountain districts.³

¹ See *Rājat*. i. 317 note.

² See note viii. 2762-64.

³ See above, § 58.